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TEACHING THE 'THIRD WORLD':  
DIFFERENCE AND DEVELOPMENT  
IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

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FOR MY GRANDPARENTS, PHIL AND JOANNA POLACK



## SUMMARY

This research explores the communication of the 'Third World' in the school curriculum, focusing particularly on its role, location and significance. Using data collected from two UK secondary schools the thesis combines ethnographic methods with theoretical perspectives from sociology, development studies and cultural studies. The conceptual focus of the research is on the ways the communication of the 'Third World' constructs notions of difference and identity in the school curriculum, informed by its location within three frameworks of meaning: development; charity; multiculturalism. The communication of the 'Third World' through each of these is addressed in turn, focusing particularly on the variety of notions of 'self', 'world' and 'other' which are constructed. Attention is also drawn to the epistemological foundations underpinning the different constructions of the 'Third World', and to the implications this has for engagements with notions of difference.

The research seeks to explain the contradictions within and between the schools' communication of the 'Third World', emphasising the micro-politics of the schools and their location within a broader political context. In particular, attention is drawn to the role of the aims, structure, and organisation of the schools in informing the communication of the 'Third World', and to tensions between national and local curricular authority.

It is argued that contradictions within and between the different constructions of the 'Third World' reflect changes in how the 'Third World' and development are understood. However, the potential improvements in its communication that this suggests are being constrained at both local and national levels. Thus, the research concludes by identifying policy initiatives which can both build on this potential, and prevent further prejudiced and discriminatory constructions of the 'Third World'. It also suggests further research which will enhance our understanding in this area.

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## DECLARATION

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

During colonialism, the representation of the ‘Third World’ in the school curriculum in Britain was framed by the needs and ideology of imperialism (e.g. Mangan 1986,1990; Mackenzie 1985). But whilst the ‘Third World’, its relations to the ‘West’ and the imperatives for learning about it in the UK school curriculum have changed, there has been little focused and empirical research into what has replaced imperial ideology as the guiding framework for teaching about what was then the colonial ‘other’, and is now the ‘Third World’ ‘other’. This research seeks to redress this through analysis of the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the curricula of two English secondary schools. It argues that despite the lack of attention to the communication of the ‘Third World’ in schools, it is an important element of the school curriculum, defined by a variety of perspectives on difference. Whilst Mackenzie claims that

a last generation of schoolchildren was raised on the moral certainties of imperial rule in the 1950’s (Mackenzie 1985:194),



it is suggested that aspects of the communication of the 'Third World' in the contemporary school curriculum represent the persistence of those 'certainties'; the 'survival of colonial discourse in the postcolonial era' (Spurr 1993:61). Emphasising the diversity, complexity and contradictions in its communication, the research suggests that any attempts to address its communication - either through policy or further research - must take these characteristics into account.

### *Background and research aims*

Representations of the 'Third World' have received increasing attention from both academics, and practitioners within organisations concerned with development and development education. They have been addressed within postcolonial and feminist scholarship through the work of, for example, Said (1978), Bhabha (1983) and Mohanty (1988). They are also attracting more attention in development studies through the poststructural work of writers such as Escobar (1995), Crush (1995), Mitchell (1995) and Hutnyk (1996). But the representation of the 'Third World' has not been addressed within the dominant debates in education. Neither existing research on difference in education, nor the development education (DE) work focused on improving and promoting education about development in schools and undertaken by development education centres and non governmental development organisations (NGDOs) such as Oxfam and Christian Aid, has produced substantial and theoretical understandings of the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. This is a product of a range of factors. Development education practitioners work under difficult constraints in their attempts to promote change, and



focus on producing resources for teachers, lobbying government and other groups and evaluating their work, rather than offering conceptualisations of the communication of the 'Third World'. The lack of research within academia partly reflects the minimal inclusion of the 'Third World' in the National Curriculum Orders for England, thus reproducing the Orders' Eurocentrism (MacNeil 1990:81). The revised National Curriculum Requirements of 1995 only require that in geography at Keystage Three, pupils study 'development' as one of the 'Thematic studies' as well localities in 'significantly different states of development' (DfE (Department for Education, now the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) 1995: 11). At Keystage Two, pupils must study a locality contrasting with that of the school's, in 'Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), South America or Central America (excluding the Caribbean)' (DfE 1995:5). Thus, this research is located in the context of the minimal inclusion of the 'Third World' in the National Curriculum and addresses the space between development education's promotion of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, and its omission from most existing education research.

Both development education and the National Curriculum define the 'Third World' in the curriculum in terms of 'best practice'; how it should be communicated. This research explores how it is communicated, and what factors inform its communication. The lack of understanding and theorisation of the 'Third World' in the curriculum informs an exploratory approach centring on its location, role and significance. These themes underpin the whole of the research, focusing attention on why the 'Third World' is or is not included in the school curriculum and the role or roles that it plays. This will afford a useful understanding of what is happening in

schools, providing a platform from which to develop both policy and further research. With a more accurate understanding of what is happening in schools, there will be a clearer understanding of the degree to which the communication of the 'Third World' satisfies the needs of pupils in the post-colonial and global age. Thus, exploration of its communication will afford insights into some of the ideas and perceptions of what those needs are and how they inform the content of the school curriculum.

*Research themes: difference and knowledge*

The importance of the 'Third World' in the curriculum centres on the fact that its construction conveys notions of difference and identity. Within these there are assumptions about the meaning and foundations of knowledge. This research focuses on the degree to which the 'Third World' is constructed through a modernist framework in which knowledge is not problematised but treated as fact, and the degree to which the interests and priorities of the 'self' form the benchmark against which the 'Third World' is defined. Thus, the research is concerned with questions of epistemology and identity formation in the school curriculum,

Edward Said's work *Orientalism* (1978) transformed the ways representations of difference are understood through analysis of representations of the Oriental 'other':

[I]n discussions of the Orient, the Orient is all absence, whereas one feels the Orientalist and what he says as presence... (Said 1978:208).

Although subject to numerous criticisms (e.g. Ahmad 1992; Young 1990; Crush 1994), *Orientalism* ‘remains a key source of inspiration for what has come to be called “colonial discourse analysis”’ (Rattansi 1994:38). Said argues that the construction of the ‘other’ bares little resemblance to what the ‘other’ might or might not be like. Instead, it is a product of how the ‘self’ views the ‘self’ and, indeed, the construction of the ‘Third World’ ‘other’ is a key component of the identity of the ‘self’. As Gregory puts it,

the European construction of the ‘other’ as a figure of ‘nonreason’ was an essential moment: the ‘self’ - constitution of the European subject as the sovereign figure of reason and normality (Gregory 1994: 29).

The construction of the ‘Orient’ and, more latterly, the ‘Third World’, conveys notions of identity and difference. The representation of the ‘Third World’ as without reason was informed by a desire on the part of Europeans to be seen as rational, and reflects the power to be able to define what is knowledge and hence, reason. Similarly, the representation of the ‘Third World’ as ‘underdeveloped’ cannot make sense without the existence of somewhere as ‘developed’. In both these cases, the world is divided into two undifferentiated halves – us and them. Thus, Said’s intervention highlighted the ways the construction of the ‘other’ is as much to do with the ‘self’. Using Foucault’s ideas, Said also raised important issues around the relationship between power and knowledge. In doing so, the separation of representations from material realities was challenged. Said argued that Orientalism was a discourse:



Orientalism can be discussed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient – dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient (Said 1978:3).

Representations of the ‘Third World’ are part of the ways people act toward the ‘Third World’ – in the case of colonialism, how they ruled over it – and are thus demanding of attention. Although this research is focused on the communication of the ‘Third World’, it is also centred around Said’s identification of the way its representation defines notions of the ‘self’, the ‘world’ and the ‘other’. The analysis also addresses the degree to which its communication reflects modernist or postmodern approaches to difference and, linked to this, the epistemological frameworks it conveys. Thus, the conceptual focus of the research centres on the location of the communication of the ‘Third World’ in relation to postmodern or modern frameworks, its epistemological foundations and constructions of identity.

Identity, interactions with others and understanding the world in which pupils are located, are central to processes of educating. Since the construction of the ‘Third World’ conveys ideas that are integral to how young people make sense of themselves and the world they live in, its role in educating is deserving of attention. More specifically, it is an important factor in addressing how the difficulties of ‘Third World’ states are alleviated; how the ‘Third World’ is represented will inform how young people define themselves in relation to it. Its historical representation as

irrational informed policies which denied decision making powers to the 'Third World'. Whether young people feel a sense of responsibility, pity or disinterest toward the 'Third World' is informed by how it is constructed. This in turn may inform how young people vote, what they buy, the career they choose or the organisations they support. These may impact on the alleviation, or otherwise, of 'Third World' poverty and disadvantage. At the same time, and particularly given the intersection between the representation of the 'Third World' and the representation of race (e.g. see Nederveen Pieterse 1990), the representation of the 'Third World' may also impact on more immediate encounters between young people within the UK. By playing a role in defining conceptions of difference, the communication of the 'Third Word' may inform the dynamics of encounters with difference in the playground, for example.

Interdependent with analysis of the notions of 'self', 'world' and 'other' communicated through the 'Third World', the research addresses the degree to which curricular constructions of the 'Third World' reinforce or question modernist notions of difference. It focuses on the degree to which the school curriculum reproduces or challenges dominant and historical representations of the 'Third World' which stereotype it as lesser than, and a deviation from, a universally valid 'norm', exemplified by the 'self':

One aspect of the electronic, postmodern world is that there has been reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed. Television, the films, and all the media's resources have forced television into more and more standardized moulds. So far as the Orient

is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth century academic and imaginative demonology of the “mysterious Orient” (Said 1995: 26).

Inherent in the communication of the ‘Third World’ are particular assumptions of knowledge; how the ‘Third World’ is communicated reflects a notion of what knowledge is. For example, to claim that ‘the ‘Third World’ is poor’ involves a claim to knowledge, of some form, about poverty and the ‘Third World’. Modernist constructions of difference accept statements of knowledge as fact. The origin or basis of that knowledge is not addressed or questioned but treated as a universally applicable truth. Postmodern perspectives, on the other hand, question the possibility of universally valid ‘truths’ and focus attention, as does Said, on truth as a product of particular circumstances; knowledge becomes a contested notion. Thus, underpinning the analysis of whether the communication of the ‘Third World’ reinforces or unsettles modernist conceptions of difference is the degree to which knowledge of the ‘Third World’ is treated as fact or problematised. Without questioning or understanding the foundations of our knowledge of the ‘Third World’, it is impossible to challenge the discriminatory and patronising ways in which it has been and continues to be represented.

### *Structure: a chapter outline*

Reflecting the ways knowledge of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum works across conventional curriculum boundaries, the research is structured around the different roles the ‘Third World’ plays in the curriculum, rather than the subject areas in which



it is located. Thus, the thesis moves from outlining the range of potential roles the ‘Third World’ can fulfil (chapter 3), to the roles it plays in reality (chapters 4, 5 and 6), to the reasons for variations in the ways it is communicated in the curriculum (chapter 7). The analysis throughout centres around the relationship between its role in the curriculum and its construction of notions of difference and knowledge. However, whilst the analysis and structure of the research reflects the fact that the ‘Third World’ is not a formal subject and that the roles it plays work across subject boundaries, the processes of data collection were located in the context of a subject-based curriculum. Thus, for the research to have meaning we need to understand the context in which data were collected, and in particular, the ways the data were selected.

The adoption of an ethnographic approach, focused on two secondary schools, was informed by the exploratory focus of the research, the National Curriculum’s requirement to teach ‘development’ in Keystage Three Geography, and that the ‘Third World’ is not a formal subject in itself. There are significant methodological consequences of analysing formations of curricular knowledge which are not institutionally recognised or defined. Defining the research focus is particularly important since it - rather than existing boundaries of knowledge - defines the boundaries of data collection. That the ‘Third World’ is communicated across the curriculum required the research to work at a range of sites and sub-sites. Thus, chapter two outlines the adoption of an ethnographic approach as a means to overcome some of these difficulties and introduces the schools which form the research settings.

Whilst, at one level, the ‘non-subject’ status of the ‘Third World’ presents difficulties for processes of data collection, the fact that its communication is fragmented across the curriculum is important in itself. Staff at both schools identified a range of potential roles for the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum, and these form the focus of chapter three. It is argued that these roles centre around a variety of conceptions of difference, rooted in existing engagements with difference in education, particularly multiculturalism. A framework of analysis is outlined centred on the degree to which constructions of the ‘Third World’ reinforce or unsettle modernist and ethnocentric notions of difference. Thus, the chapter both defines the theoretical framework of the analysis, as well as locating it in relation to existing research and debates.

Although staff at both schools identify the ‘Third World’ as a desirable element of the school curriculum, with a range of potential roles within it, there is a contrast between the rhetoric and the reality. That staff perceive it as important and recognise that this importance is not backed up by what is taking place in the curriculum, points to structural factors as informing its inclusion in the curriculum (chapter 7). Before exploring why there is a disparity, it is important to understand the reality of its communication and how this relates to the rhetoric. Thus, chapters four, five and six conceptualise the reality of the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum by exploring the discourses of development, charity and multiculturalism through which it is constructed. In doing so, they reveal which of the discourses of difference outlined in chapter three become the ‘truth’ about the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum and which are subjugated. They also reveal contrasts both within and between the schools’ constructions of the ‘Third World’.



Since the National Curriculum for geography contains the only statutory requirement to communicate the ‘Third World’, this provides the starting point of analysis. Chapter four focuses on the geography department at Cardinal James School and conceptualises its statutory requirements to teach development and study a developing locality (DfE 1995). Emphasis is placed on the epistemological foundations of the construction of the ‘Third World’ and on development and signs of development as knowable, visible and scientific facts. Thus, it is suggested that the communication of ‘Third World’ difference in the geography department of the school is quintessentially modernist, contradicting staff rhetoric on its potentially critical role.

As the main prism through which the ‘Third World’ is viewed in the UK (Gladstone 1989:18), the communication of the ‘Third World’ through charity and fund-raising provides the next focus of analysis. Case studies taken from each school illustrate the ways the ‘self’ is empowered through the construction of the ‘Third World’ through charity and analyses the definition of change enshrined within charity based constructions. Particular attention is focused on the tension between fund-raising and education (Arnold 1988:191; Regan 1994:3). It is suggested that whilst tensions within charities inform those between education and fund-raising in the curriculum, it is also important to note that engendering benevolence is identified as desirable from within the school. This then constrains the degree to which modernist constructions of the ‘Third World’ as victims needing aid can be unsettled.

Having identified the ways constructions of the ‘Third World’ through development and charity reinforce modernist notions of difference, chapter 6 addresses the degree to which these are challenged by its communication through multiculturalism. It is suggested that whilst modernist constructions of difference are unsettled to some degree, the emphasis on performance informs an Orientalist (Said 1978) picture of the ‘Third World’ focused around tradition, modernity and exoticism. Mirroring the tension between education and charity, context is defined as fundamental to unsettling modernist constructions of difference. Thus, chapters 4, 5 and 6 show that rather than being included only where the National Curriculum requires it, the ‘Third World’ is communicated in a variety of ways within and between the schools. Chapter 7 explains why there is a disparity between the rhetoric and the reality, the contradictions between the different constructions, and why, despite similar rhetoric, the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the two schools was contrasting. Emphasis is placed on the role of factors specific to each school in articulating different realities in each curriculum. The chapter is focused broadly around the concept of school ethos, whose difficulties are discussed, and specifically around school identity, organisation and communications. It is suggested that the articulation of critical discourses of difference is difficult and requires a co-ordinated and systematic strategy. At the same time, the chapter identifies the limits to such a strategy in the light of tensions between local and national authority in determining curriculum content.

The concluding chapter draws together the theorisation of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum and uses this as a basis for policy and future research recommendations.

Firstly, the importance of attention to the 'Third World' in the curriculum is emphasised, particularly in the light of its relations to issues of identity and knowledge. Secondly, it is suggested that the existence of contradictory discourses of 'Third World' difference in the curriculum can be understood as reflecting changes in both its communication and the epistemologies on which it and other curricular knowledge rests. In order to address the communication of the 'Third World' and, in particular, to work to eliminate patronising and discriminatory constructions of it, this complexity and contradiction must be taken into account. To sustain this perspective, its foundations must be made explicit. In particular, the means by which the data on which it is based, were collected, must be outlined and analysed, as part of developing the findings and conclusions. Thus, in chapter two, we explore the use of an ethnographic research approach in collecting data on the communication of the 'Third World' in the school curriculum.



## CHAPTER 2

# **‘IT’S INTERESTING THAT YOU CALL IT THIRD WORLD’: IDENTITIES AND RESEARCHING THE NON-SUBJECT**

The aim of social research is to represent social reality, but this is not to say that its function is to reproduce it (that is, to represent it ‘in its own terms’). Rather, representation must always be from some point of view which makes some features of the phenomena represented relevant and others irrelevant. Thus, there can be multiple, non-contradictory and valid descriptions and explanations of the same phenomenon (Hammersley 1992:51).

Given that what is produced is, at best, only one of many possible valid accounts of the phenomena studied, it is a requirement that ethnographers make explicit the relevances on which their accounts are based (Hammersley 1992:45).

For ethnographic data to have full meaning it is essential to clarify the means by which it was obtained and the factors informing its collection; ‘the lines of communication and the social vantage points through and from which he [the

researcher] will make his observations and will be permitted to participate' (Wax 1971:16). Indeed, without such openness, not only does the data lose its richness but its validity is threatened as its definition and construction is obscured. This chapter explores the ways data were collected on the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. It is divided into two broad sections, each of which is divided into sub-sections: ethnography and the communication of the 'Third World'; settings, access and negotiating the field. Part one focuses on the interrelationship between the research problem and the methodology chosen to tackle it, outlining the key methodological obstacles presented by the research subject, the questions at the centre of it and the reasons for taking an ethnographic approach. Part two addresses the research process and explores some of the realities of conducting the research. Having introduced the two schools which form the settings of the research, it analyses the definition of the research and how this informed the research sites and sub-sites within the settings, processes of access and the ways data were collected. This is detailed at the end of the chapter in order that it is located within the wider research process which facilitated it.

## ***PART I: Ethnography and the communication of the 'Third World'***

### *The problem of the 'non-subject'*

That the 'Third World' is not a formal subject and does not have a body of literature which identifies its place in the school curriculum presented the central methodological obstacle to researching its communication; reference could not be

made to a particular set of formally defined and discrete activities. The National Curriculum Orders only require the 'Third World's' inclusion in the geography curriculum. Thus, it provides an inappropriate means of defining and guiding the research since whilst this indicates the importance of considering the geography department in exploring the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, it would result in an extremely narrow and limited study and would not facilitate data on the role of the 'Third World' beyond that formally required by the National Curriculum. Importantly, such reliance would also reproduce the ideology of the National Curriculum by working within its boundaries and definition of curricular knowledge; it would reflect biases within the curriculum rather than explore them:

[C]lose attention must be paid to the need for a careful deconstruction of the theorisations and discourses within which educational practice is located (Usher and Edwards 1994:31).

That the 'Third World' is only formally included in the Geography orders is not to say that it does not have wider educational currency. Development education (DE), education for and about development undertaken by non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) such as OXFAM and Christian Aid, and development education centres (DECs), small scale resource centres, represents a form of education specifically devoted to increasing and improving the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, and elsewhere. However, it does not present a means by which to focus the research. Defining development education is difficult because it refers to both engendering skills and communicating particular content, with the skills



it focuses on not confined solely to development education. The definition of it offered by the UN in 1975 is often taken as its starting point and many writers still refer to it (see Hicks and Townley 1982:9; Sinclair 1994:54):

Development education is concerned with issues of human rights, dignity, self-reliance, and social justice in both developed and developing countries. It is concerned with the causes of underdevelopment and the promotion of an *understanding* of what is involved in development, of how different countries go about undertaking development, and of the reasons for and ways of achieving a new international economic and social order ... It seeks to enable people to participate in the development of their community their nation and the world as a whole. Such participation implies a critical awareness of local, national and international situations based on an understanding of the social, economic and political processes (UN 1975 quoted in Hicks and Townley 1982:9).

Development education is thus both for and about development. In addition it is broadly defined, as the following definition from Birmingham DEC indicates, particularly in its emphasis on skills:

Development Education is about developing the skills necessary for effective participation in the world:

- skills of recognising one's own values and influences on these;

- skills of empathy with people in different situations and with different cultures;
- skills of acquiring information and of critical analysis of such information;
- skills of recognising the validity of different points of view;
- skills of forming one's own conclusions;
- skills of recognising the way one relates to the world;
- skills of recognising possibilities for future action

(DEC 1981)

The broad description of development education centres on the fact that these are normative definitions; they refer to aims and intentions in abstraction rather than occurrences. The literature is predominantly made up of prescriptive materials for schools (e.g. see Steiner 1993; Hicks and Steiner 1989; Hicks and Townley 1982; DEA 1996) and its articulation and definition is rhetorical. An important exception to this is Robinson's work on geography teachers approaches to teaching development. But because this did not involve classroom observation, it does not offer a picture of how the 'Third World' is constructed in schools (Robinson 1987,1990). What other development education research has been conducted is usually based on participant outlines of work undertaken specifically as a development education project with a view to promoting development education (e.g. see Osler 1994). This presents two problems: the research is loaded toward a particular perspective, meaning that it offers a very subjective and mostly favourable view of development education (eg.Osler 1994); by focusing on specific and relatively uncommon case studies, it is difficult to



generalise about development education and the forms it takes; anecdote proliferates over theory and conceptualisation. This is not to denigrate it in terms of what it sets out to achieve - the problems identified here are, in some senses, specific to this research. But it is an inadequate means of defining the curricular manifestations of the research subject since it is no more a formal school subject than the 'Third World'. This is not to say that development education or elements of it do not take place in schools, although where they do, it may be the case that they are not defined in this way. That only one reference was made to development education by school staff during the research (Interview, Jim Roberts, Head of History, Meadows School) suggests that the term is not well-known and that reference to it by a researcher could either confuse or be impotent. Additionally, emphasising wide-ranging skills as a defining element does not delimit development education from other pedagogical activities and aims and goes beyond the research focus of communication about the 'Third World'. This is not to say that this may not entail the development of certain skills but that the skills element is a subsidiary focus and not a primary consideration. The broad substantive aims of development education also make it hard to delineate from other forms of education such as human rights education, world studies, peace education and multiculturalism (Starkey 1986:15; Whitty 1992:106; Small 1997:592). Again, whilst these may have a place in the research, the means by which they are encountered needs to be through the communication of the 'Third World', if they are relevant.

The lack of literature on the 'Third World' in the curriculum and the inadequacy of both development education and the National Curriculum as guides to its role, defined

the central research obstacles. In order to analyse the 'Third World' in the curriculum, the research had not simply to conceptualise how it was taught, but to locate and define it within the curriculum. This informed a research focus on the location, function, significance and representation of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. Addressing the location of the communication of the 'Third World' offered data on the ways the 'Third World' was interpreted as an element of the curriculum. This was not only important in itself but would also offer useful data on its role and function, aiding its conceptualisation and affording data on the ideologies behind its construction and communication. These data would be enriched by exploring how it is communicated, focusing particularly on the themes and issues through which the 'Third World' was constructed. In addressing all of these, data would also be offered on the significance of the 'Third World', affording further data on the rationale behind its inclusion and its relation to other curriculum priorities. Thus, the research questions address both the phenomenon - the communication of the 'Third World' - and its context - the curriculum. This informed the adoption of an ethnographic approach to data collection.

### *Ethnography and the 'non-subject'*

There exists some ambiguity as to the meaning of ethnography. Hammersley and Atkinson define it in the following way:

We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or set of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended

period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions - in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the data (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:2).

However, defining ethnography as broadly as this does not set it off from some other forms of research. Hammersley and Atkinson continue:

There is a sense in which all social researchers are participant observers; and as a result, the boundaries around ethnography are necessarily unclear. In particular, we would not want to make any hard-and-fast distinction between ethnography and other sorts of qualitative enquiry (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:2).

Indeed, Burgess defines 'field research' as covering

... what is colloquially known as participant observation, unstructured interviews and documentary methods; although depending on the problem at hand, other approaches can be used (Burgess 1984:4).

Given this, it could be argued that the research utilised a qualitative methodology. But the aim here is not to debate whether what was done should be labelled ethnography but to outline why the approach was adopted and its reality in the field.



Drawing on the above definitions, ethnography's strengths regarding research into the communication of the 'Third World' focus around its open-ended and exploratory nature and its attention to the interrelationship between phenomenon and their context. It enabled analysis of formations of knowledge - the constructions of the 'Third World' - and the context of the production of that knowledge; as chapter 7 demonstrates, school ethos plays an important role in defining the communication of the 'Third World' in a curriculum. As part of being open and exploratory, ethnographic research needs to work at the micro-level and consequently around particular settings or 'cultures', such as that of the school or the work-place. As a result a case study approach is often used:

*A case study is an empirical enquiry that*

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin 1993:13).

Since the research sought to respond to a lack of empirical research into the communication of the 'Third World' in the school curriculum and was particularly concerned with analysing its location, function and significance in curriculum, a case study approach was identified as the most appropriate one. In considering the pay-offs between case study approaches and surveys and experiments, Hammersley identifies some further advantages of a case study approach pertinent to this research:

Compared with the survey, there is a trade-off between generalisability of findings to finite populations on the one hand and detail and accuracy of information on the other. Compared with the experiment, case study involves a trade-off between control of variables and level of reactivity ... the significance of these trade-offs varies according to the goals and circumstances of the research (Hammersley 1992:196).

Given the interest in micro level and exploratory data, and the desire to move away from the 'in-house' research of development education, an ethnographic case study approach was particularly suited to researching the communication of the 'Third World' in the school curriculum.

An ethnographic and case study based approach was also particularly 'appropriate' (Lofland & Lofland 1995:20) due to the insights it can afford into formations of curricular knowledge which do not conform to the institutionally defined boundaries - the 'Third World', for example. The compartmentalisation of knowledge in the National Curriculum is a highly political act. It reflects the promotion of forms and frameworks of knowledge which order young people's understanding of the world in a particular manner (for examples see the contributions in Ahier & Ross 1995). Ethnographic research which transcends those subject boundaries ensures that these are not unquestioningly accepted as the terms of reference for the research. Secondly, and related to this, the increased requirements of the National Curriculum and its strict compartmentalisation of knowledge constrain the possibilities for cross-curricularity. However, that cross-curricula configurations of knowledge appear to occur less

frequently or that they appear constrained by the compartmentalisation of knowledge in the National Curriculum does not mean that they do not exist. For example, cross-curricula narratives may continue to be significant in terms of the coherence or contradiction of knowledge within the curriculum. Ethnography's potential exploration of knowledge at and across different sites within the research setting plays an important role in understanding this. Finally, and linked to the former two rationales for the use of ethnography, this access to hidden narratives within the curriculum affords insights into the potential for and state of curricular transformation in the light of postmodernity's increasing contestations of certainty and 'truth'; it can explore the discourses operating within the curriculum to explore the broad state of curricular knowledge.

Ethnography's ability to afford such insights centres around two factors: the researcher's multiple identity; ethnography's inclusiveness. By multiple identity is meant, at the broadest level, the mix of 'outsider' and 'insider' that underpins ethnographic participation. Whilst it is recognised that this stark dichotomy could be misleading, it is intended to refer to broad traits and dimensions of participation. The researcher participates in the setting, affording access to people and situations within that setting as though they were part of it. At the same time, the 'outsider' element brings particular conceptual understandings to the setting, as well as informing the participation within it. At a more micro level, and as is illustrated later, the researcher may also have a multiple identity within the setting, donning different caps in different areas of the setting, playing to both the role of 'expert' and 'ignorant' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:77). The multiple identity of the researcher plays a



key role in affording access across the curriculum. As an ‘outsider’, the researcher is able to work across the boundaries of knowledge within which staff and pupils operate within the curriculum; they are equally an ‘outsider’ in all areas of the curriculum unlike, for example, a geography and physical education teacher who would be an ‘insider’ in geography and physical education but an ‘outsider’ elsewhere. In a sense, the ‘outsider’ status opens the opportunity for the ethnographer to travel within a setting in a way that ‘inhabitants’ may find problematic or perhaps irrelevant. At the same time, the ‘insider’ element of the researcher’s identity enables them to gain access and work within the sites within the settings in order that they gain the close perspective that micro-level ethnography affords. To extend the travelling metaphor, the more successful the development of ‘insider’ status is, the easier it will be to cross the terrain and to obtain visas at different border posts. Thus, and as is will be shown later, the appropriate mix of ‘insider’/‘outsider’ enables an externally conceived conceptualisation and interrogation of the curriculum, attained through micro-level data collection.

As well as the substantive and theoretical issues informing the choice of methodology, ethnography is important in the context of contemporary educational change for two ‘practical’ reasons. The increased workload imposed by the National Curriculum reduces the time available for the researcher to discuss, interview and negotiate with staff. In both the schools in which this research was conducted, interviews took place primarily outside school hours since staff were unable to find time within breaks or free periods due to administration and extra duties such as cover for staff absences. In addition, staff have been subjected to increasing observation and monitoring in recent

years. For example, in Meadows School, the school had recently had an Ofsted inspection (preceded by a mock Ofsted inspection) and through the year the Central Management Team conducted a series of inspections. As a result, there is increasing reluctance to accept a researcher into the classroom due to the further disruption it may cause and because it presents an opportunity for extra criticism and analysis which is not a statutory requirement of the job. These constraints are compounded by a research topic that is not a formal 'subject' nor a major part of the National Curriculum. Indeed, in addition to its low formal status, reflected in the fact that it does not form a major part of the school curriculum, the 'Third World' was not always seen as worthy of research. As Richard Holmes, a geography teacher at Cardinal James School commented on the research to the head of the department, Anne Church, whilst I was sat in the room adjacent and clearly within earshot, 'Oh how terribly PC'.

An ethnographic approach has a bearing on these factors. Through active participation and the large amounts of time within the setting that this requires, the researcher is able to work to the staff's time restrictions; as much as possible the researcher is available when it suits the staff. Secondly, active participation may enable interviews or observation to be 'bought' within the setting. Under pressure in terms of numbers of pupils and time, an extra 'helping' hand may make staff more able and willing to be interviewed. Finally, participation and attention to staff's views and perspectives in terms of both interview situations and in general participation, and empathy within the setting, distances the researcher from the role of inspector. Thus, in its participatory character, ethnography is particularly important in a time when teachers are often



discredited in the press, subject to increasing state monitoring and all whilst facing the pressures of increased class sizes and workloads, and insufficient resources.

Part one has outlined the ways the research focus informed the adoption of an ethnographic approach and has discussed the advantages that this approach affords. In particular it has suggested that ethnography's importance rests with an ability to transcend institutional boundaries and its flexibility in the context of an increasingly pressured education sector. Having outlined the theory behind the adoption of an ethnographic approach, the aim in part two is to explore the reality of the research process.

## ***PART II: Settings, access and negotiating the field***

### *The research settings*

Conceptual and pragmatic concerns informed the choice of two secondary schools as the settings for the research: Cardinal James School; Meadows School. The names of the schools, their staff and pupils have been changed in order to preserve anonymity. Cardinal James School is a co-educational Roman Catholic Voluntary School located in a medium sized provincial town, with 1217 pupils and the equivalent (taking part-time staff into account) of 66.65 full time staff. The social class composition is mixed and it has a very low proportion of pupils from visible 'ethnic minorities'. There is no school uniform, either of the formal sort for pupils or the informal 'dress code' type for staff, and most staff are referred to by their Christian names. However, codes of

discipline at the school were under negotiation at the time of the research. Traditionally emphasising that pupils learn through experience and explanation, not the threat of sanctions, this approach was being questioned during the research period. Whilst the formal position remained unclear it is nonetheless the case that the discipline and formality often associated with a school are a low priority. This contrasts directly with the approach at Meadows School.

Meadows School is located in a village about 10 miles from the nearest town, with 973 pupils and 55 equivalent full time staff. The school is in a relatively affluent rural area but has a mixed social class composition. As with Cardinal James School, it attracts very few 'ethnic minority' pupils - about 10 in all - since the local area is predominantly white. Unlike Cardinal James School, the school emphasises formality and discipline, with all pupils up to 6th form expected to wear a uniform. When an adult enters a classroom pupils are expected to stand, and lessons start with the traditional exchange between staff and pupils: Good morning Year X, Good morning Mrs./Mr. X.

On the surface, then, the schools are not starkly contrasting, as is made clear in the following comparative table of the sort used by Burgess et. al. in their analysis of four case studies (Burgess et. al. 1994:133):

<u>Meadows School</u>	<u>Cardinal James School</u>
Medium sized	Medium sized
Rural	Suburban
High School	Voluntary Secondary
Mixed class	Mixed class
Strict discipline	Liberal discipline
Church of England	Roman Catholic

‘Pragmatic considerations’ partly informed the choice of two apparently similar schools in terms of the conventional sociological variables of class and ethnicity (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:38). Whilst affluence is often characterised as the background to support for the ‘Third World’ and ethnicity may inform the ways the ‘Third World’ is perceived, it was decided that introducing too many factors in an exploratory analysis would make inference particularly difficult; identifying the influence of each becomes problematic without increasing the number of case studies and given the time constraints, this was not feasible. Instead, and in deference to the aims of exploration and conceptualisation, the cases were chosen so that a start could be made toward micro level and middle level theorising about the communication of the ‘Third World’ and to analysing those factors whose analysis could provide a useful grounding for future research - location, ethos and religious orientation. School location was thought to be important because ‘Third World’ refers to a geographical space. Would a rural school communicate the ‘Third World’ differently to an urban one? The ‘Third World’ and the political positions relating to it are often characterised as radical, progressive or subversive (see, for example, Scruton 1985). Thus, would a



school with a very liberal tradition (Cardinal James School) communicate it differently to what, on the surface, appears to be a more conventional institution (Meadows School)? In addition, and given the association of certain religious denominations with charity, contrasting religious orientations enabled exploration of the degree to which such factors might also influence the communication of the ‘Third World’.

The choice of two case studies placed some limits on the generalisability of the research findings but allowed the attention to detail required by the research problem. It encapsulates the ‘trade-off between empirical generalisability on the one hand, and accuracy and detail on the other’ (Hammersley 1992:191). As Hammersley also comments:

It is very important not to think of generalisability as synonymous with the use of statistical sampling (Hammersley 1992:189).

Whilst generalising about the nature of the communication of the ‘Third World’ in secondary schools in different contexts across Britain was not possible, more specific or ‘middle-level’ generalisations were possible since the research took place in two sites. For example, both schools are required to use the National Curriculum to define their own curriculum and yet the communication of the ‘Third World’ differed in some respects between each school. Thus, one can generalise that why the ‘Third World’ is communicated in certain ways cannot be reduced to a study of the National



Curriculum Orders, and attention can then turn to factors such as the school's location, ethos or religious orientation.

The issue of generalisability also informed the sampling procedure that took place before entering the schools. The decision to sample up to but excluding GCSE level, that is, years 7 to 9, was informed by the fact that after year 9, pupils are able to choose the courses they take and hence affect the curriculum that they receive. Before this, most pupils receive the same curriculum and consequently, receive the same communication of the 'Third World'. By studying its communication up to that point the research explored the minimum communication that the majority of pupils will receive before being able to change subjects and either reduce or increase their learning about the 'Third World'.

### *Defining the research*

Because the communication of the 'Third World' is not a formal curriculum subject, its definition was fundamentally important to operationalising the research in terms of data collection and analysis; how the research was defined established the boundaries of data collection within the sample that had been identified. Since the aim of the research was to examine the range of constructions of the 'Third World' communicated in the curriculum, the central methodological obstacle became how to refer to those in an inclusive manner but without broadening the research beyond the 'Third World'. The definition of the research had to refer to and identify a series of diffuse and fragmented 'acts' labelled differently throughout the curriculum. As Anne Church, the head of geography at Cardinal James School put it:

Now we call it ‘more economically developed countries’ and ‘less economically developed countries’ or ‘economically developed countries’ and ‘economically developing countries’. Now in theology they might still call it third world or they might call them poor countries. Or they might call them something entirely different (Interview, Anne Church).

Given that the terms Less Developed Countries (LDC’s) or ‘developing countries’ are those used in the National Curriculum orders for geography and are used by geographers, their use might associate the research with geography and limit its scope. Similarly, because the term ‘poor countries’ refers explicitly to a particular characteristic of countries and implies that the research focuses on those dimensions it might limit the research in a different direction. Other terms also have potential problems. For example, the ‘South’ is not widely used outside academic and development education circles and is in a sense more imprecise given the presence of Australia, New Zealand and Japan, amongst others, in the southern hemisphere. At the same time, ‘Third World’ is also considered to be a problematic concept, as indicated by Sue Barton, a geography teacher at Cardinal James School:

It’s interesting also that you call it third world. I mean generally we tend to call it the developing world these days don’t we rather than the third world? (Interview, Sue Barton).

Similarly, Hilary Cox, the deputy head at Meadows School responsible for curriculum said, regarding the term ‘Third World’:

I remember when the old [curriculum] orders came out there were a lot of people jumping up and down and got very hot under the collar and said we should call it the developing world or whatever (Interview, Hilary Cox).

Both these comments are reflective of the scrutiny to which the term ‘Third World’ has been recently subjected in the light of both changes in global socio-political and economic formations and in the ways we consider and portray other peoples and cultures. The social, economic and political boundaries which formed the basis for the tripartite division of the world have been eroded and re-shaped by the collapse of the Soviet empire, the growth of the so-called Asian ‘Tiger’ economies, Sino-US détente and the collapse of a ‘second world’. Increasing inequalities within the states highlights the homogenising and essentialising entailed in grouping and ordering the world into monolithic blocs. This also relates to changes in how we analyse and perceive the world. Recognition of the essentialising and homogenising referred to above may be as much a result of a shift in thinking and understanding as an actual change in the contrasts of material well-being within and between countries. This shift in understanding has also questioned the hierarchy implied by the term ‘Third World’. However, in some academic and ‘activist’ circles the term is now being re-appropriated as a symbol and means of empowerment - my own use of the term outside the research setting is intended to refer to the unequal access to power



experienced by peoples throughout the world. But whilst, at one level, the term ‘Third World’ was questioned within the research settings and may no longer be used in education, at least in formally sanctioned terms, it has common currency across subject areas. As the headteacher of Meadows School commented in an interview:

... I mean I don't like the term third world but we'll use it as short hand

(Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School).

Although viewed by some as an out of date or inappropriate term, ‘Third World’ works as a useful ‘short hand’, in the words of Andrew McGregor, because people know what it refers to. ‘Third World’ acts as a label for particular areas of the world - that is, the majority of the countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Given the focus on exploring the narratives of its communication and the practical consideration of time, the research was defined as addressing instances of teaching the ‘Third World’, its culture, development, relationships with the ‘West’ and so on, not simply any instance which might include it in passing. This could act both negatively and descriptively. It could allow the research to encompass the communication of, for example, music from India or ‘Africa’ which took place at Meadows School (although use of the phrase ‘music from Africa’ does not reflect acceptance of its homogenisation and lack of specificity but its employment as a phrase in the school). At the same time, the negative connotations of the term ‘Third World’ and, more particularly, the presence of poverty as a key signifier, opened the research to themes and topics associated with the ‘Third World’. For example, the head of religious education (R.E.) at Meadows School identified her R.E. teaching on poverty as a part



of the communication of the 'Third World' in the school's curriculum. Thus, the research was defined in a way which responded to staff perceptions and which ensured the inclusion of the communication of the 'Third World' in all the subject areas and forms in which it occurred.

### *Sites and sub-sites*

The definition of the research focus defined the research sites within the research settings. This section explores how the research and analysis focused on sites and sub-sites within the schools, and how the school's interpretation of which sites were relevant afforded useful data. The geography departments were sites within both schools because the National Curriculum requires the teaching of the 'Third World' within the geography curriculum at Key Stages 2 and 3 (DfE 1995). The departments can be seen as sub-settings within the overall settings of the schools, the geography curriculum as a sub-site of the whole school curriculum, and the teaching of the 'Third World' in geography as a sub-site of that. Which particular teacher's lessons were observed was informed by which staff were willing to be observed - like Hammersley, 'I did not push to go into those lessons where they were reluctant to have me' (Hammersley 1984:50) to ensure that I did not risk the access I had gained - and the timing of the relevant lessons in relation to the time spent in the schools. The sites also differed between the schools since each communicated the 'Third World' in different ways. Whilst the history departments were sub-settings in both schools, at Meadows School the sub-site of history was a curriculum unit on Islam whereas at Cardinal James School it was one on slavery; the communication of the 'Third World' took different forms in the two departments. The R.E. departments were also sub-

settings in each school, but whereas at Meadows School the sub-site within R.E. was a unit of teaching on poverty, this was not the case at Cardinal James School since having gained access to a sub-site which was also a unit on poverty taught by an R.E. teacher, this unit did then not take place. At Meadows School, a cross-curricula multicultural arts projects meant that elements of the music, drama and art curricula constituted a research site. Seen together, elements of their curriculum which formed part of the arts project were both a sub-setting within the overall curriculum and a research site. This contrasted to Cardinal James School where, because the art department was doing a project on 'tribal' art, this became a site, with the Year 7 project as a sub-site.

The analytical units not only matched the sites and sub-sites within the school but went beyond them. The sub-sites of the curriculum formed units of analysis and were analysed individually in relation to their departmental and curricular context. In Lofland and Lofland's terms, these units were 'practices':

Recurrent categories of talk or action on which the observer focuses as having analytic significance (Lofland & Lofland 1995:103).

They were then analysed in terms of their relationship with the broader analytical unit, the setting. The key analytical units, however, were what Lofland and Lofland call 'topics', which are made up of the 'aspects' or 'pieces' of the settings and sites deemed relevant (Lofland & Lofland 1995:103) by the research problem. The important point is that these consisted of the narratives about the 'Third World' that

ran through the curriculum. These units were defined by analysing the communication of the 'Third World' throughout the settings, and identifying and conceptualising the patterns between them. Drawing a parallel with Burgess et. al.'s study of Records of Achievement in which 'the key themes and issues across all four studies were brought together in the thematic report' (Burgess et.al. 1994:143), so these narratives were analysed individually but also as a single narrative of the 'Third World' in the curriculum.

How the research term was interpreted - and hence, which sites were identified as relevant by the schools - afforded useful data on how the 'Third World' was defined in each school. Whilst the headteacher in each school received the same letter requesting access and both were required to fulfil the same National Curriculum requirements, the interpretation of the research differed between them. At Cardinal James School the principal put me in contact with the head of the geography department whereas at Meadows School, the headteacher put me in contact with the teacher responsible for multiculturalism. At one level this could be seen as offering two different interpretations of the communication of the 'Third World'. At Cardinal James School it was seen as pertaining primarily to the geography department and to do with 'development'. It was only toward the end of the year in the school that it emerged that there had been a year long multicultural arts project taking place on 'tribal' art. At Meadows School, by directing the researcher toward the teacher responsible for multiculturalism, access was obtained to more of the curriculum since multiculturalism was defined as a whole school theme and of relevance to all subjects. This also resulted in the research being defined differently at Meadows School. For



example, shortly after my arrival in the school I received a note which had been forwarded from the head of R.E. who had placed information about the research in the school newsletter. It started:

Re Matthew Smith and ethnic minority study

After this I was also quizzed by a biology teacher as to what I meant by ‘minority interests’. This reinterpretation reflected the association of the ‘Third World’ with the broad concern of ‘difference’ in the curriculum (see chapter 3) and linked it to the general concern amongst the staff to respond to:

the somewhat provincial nature of our catchment area, which is obviously monocultural or virtually monocultural (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

Throughout the year it also became clear that this interpretation was also a reflection of the Central Management Team’s (CMT) pride in the school’s multiculturalism and their concern over the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the geography department. As the headteacher at the school put it:

... we’ve moved forward, but I’m conscious as well of having been into some geography lessons, on an observation basis, that the sort of stereotypical view is given (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

Returning to the earlier discussion of cross-curricula coherence this comment raises an interesting point, the headteacher distancing the geography department from the ‘we’ of the Central Management Team and indicating contradiction within the curriculum. At Cardinal James School, on the other hand, despite staff reference to the school’s caring and tolerant ethos and the attention to these themes in theology, staff did not suggest that the theology department’s activities should play a part in the research. As familiarity with staff developed over the year it emerged that the department was the ‘laughing stock of the school’ (Interview, Steven Ray, English teacher, Cardinal James School). Staff changes had resulted in no permanent head of department and teaching being done not by trained theology teachers but Catholic members of staff from throughout the school. Thus, it was unlikely that staff would want to direct attention to the department’s activities. That I was not directed toward multicultural activities at Cardinal James School was in part since the principal was new to the job but also because, as the head of history put it:

Because it’s a Catholic school I think in theology they have tended to perhaps concentrate quite a bit on Catholicism whereas in my sort of previous schools, R.E. has obviously brought in other religions like Islam, Hinduism and so on... children in this school, certainly in the sixth form and GCSE level I can say with my hand on my heart that they know absolutely nothing about Islam, nothing at all... And that has got to be something to do with the fact that this particular Catholic school doesn’t really look at other [religions]... (Interview, Susan Porter, Head of History, Cardinal James School).

Thus, analysis of the ways the 'Third World' was defined in each school afforded important data on the contrast between the rhetoric and reality of the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum and on the location and definition of some of the borders and boundaries within which that communication was located. That the research was located throughout a range of sites and sub-sites and that these were identified differently between the schools was not only important for the data it revealed. It also had implications for questions of access.

### *Access: the role of researcher identity*

In many ways, gaining access is a thoroughly practical issue... it involves drawing on the interpersonal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life. But the process of achieving access is not merely a practical matter. Not only does its achievement depend on theoretical understanding, often disguised as 'native wit', but the discovery of obstacles to access, and perhaps of effective means of overcoming them, itself provides insights into the social organisation of the setting (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983:54).

So far, this chapter has addressed the relationship between the research identity and the sites in which data were collected. However, it has not explored how access to data was obtained. The aim of this section is to outline the processes by which this



was achieved, with emphasis on the identity of the researcher and the ‘bargains’ struck in order to gain access and acceptance.

Formal access to the research settings was as straightforward as it was limited in its potential for data collection. A letter was sent to the headteacher of each school briefly explaining who I was and what the broad research interest was. At the time, this was termed ‘researching into the ways young people perceive the ‘developing world’ and how it is taught in the school curriculum’. I asked whether they would be willing to participate in the research and suggested that we meet to discuss this. I followed this up by a phone call a few days later. I did not mention the areas of the curriculum which I had identified as relevant from analysis of the National Curriculum orders since I wanted to collect data on which areas were identified as relevant by the schools and felt that access to these could be obtained once ‘in’. In the case of each school, the headteacher (Meadows School) and principal (Cardinal James School) were both agreeable to participation in the research and rather than offering to meet me, forwarded the letter to Anne Church, the head of geography at Cardinal James School, and Jenny Patricks, the head of R.E. and staff member in charge of multiculturalism at Meadows School. At the meetings arranged with them the research was outlined in more detail emphasising that it was exploratory, that it was taking place in a number of settings, would primarily use interviews and observation and that the findings would remain anonymous. Both Anne Church and Jenny Patricks were willing to co-operate in the research. The different ways in which they participated is outlined below. It is mentioned here since the acquisition of gatekeepers in each setting marked the division between institutional and secondary access.

Whereas the formal acceptance of the researcher and research subject can be achieved by a letter, phone call and sometimes a meeting, access to people and sub-sites within a setting is more subtle and difficult:

The question has to be posed about the extent to which a headteacher can grant access to the whole of a school site, to classrooms, to teachers, to pupils and to documents (Burgess 1984:40).

Whilst a refusal of institutional access is usually recognisable and often, final, gaining secondary access can be fraught with ambiguity. For example, at Cardinal James School, access to the whole school was granted by the headteacher, but since the boundaries were less 'clear cut', access within the geography department was more complex. The following fieldnote records a conversation with Anne Church about being able to observe Sue Barton and Richard Holmes, the other two staff in the geography department:

Anne Church said that if I saw Richard teaching the same unit [on development] I wouldn't recognise it as the same stuff. It would be more of a "precision exercise, not something to do with anything in the real world". Anne Church says that Sue hates it and will probably teach it in 2 weeks. I use this to ask whether I might be able to watch someone else teach it. She says that Sue probably wouldn't mind as

long as I or she says that I'll just sit at the back and observe kids' perceptions (Fieldnote 12.12.95).

Access to Sue Barton was conditional upon how the research was conducted but it was more ambiguous with respect to Richard Holmes. Establishing that access had not been gained to him involved guesswork and intuition, linking Anne Church's comments to his own description of the project as 'terribly PC'.

Since the ethnographic approach is premised on participation within the setting, achieving acceptance and developing an appropriate role is fundamentally linked to the collection of data. It was important that people would be willing to be interviewed and observed and to be forthcoming in offering information. In each school a letter was sent to all staff. This sought to define the research to the research participants and to introduce the researcher. It was not only important that all staff were aware of the research for the ethical reason that I was an 'outsider' in their territory but in order that they might contribute to identifying relevant research sites:

Dear Members of Staff,

My name is Matthew Smith and I am a PhD. student in the Sociology Department at the University of Warwick, researching into the ways young people perceive the 'developing world' and how it is taught in the school curriculum. To conduct this research I am spending the



coming year in different schools exploring the ways that this subject is approached.

During this term I will be spending 2 days a week at Cardinal James/Meadows School - Monday and Tuesday/Wednesday and Thursday at the outset - and would like to talk to staff who feel they may be able to offer insights and ideas on the project and areas that relate to it, or who are aware of classes and activities that it would be possible for me to observe.

If you have any questions relating to the project I would be happy to discuss these at a mutually convenient date and time. Thank you in advance for your help and I look forward to meeting you during the course of this term.

Yours sincerely,

Matthew Smith

However, such formal introduction does not afford secondary access but prepares the ground for it:

“Who” the researcher is in contrast to “who” the researched are may throw up barriers to the acquisition of rich data (Lofland & Lofland 1995:23).

Just as the definition and status of the subject and the time available are important factors in defining the research sites and the ways in which data were collected, so is the means of the research subject’s actualisation: the researcher. Of particular importance is the researcher conceptualised as

A kind of enterprise engaged in managing a whole stable of roles and social selves to the best advantage (Burns 1992:110).

Achieving credibility and acceptance in the schools as a researcher was made particularly difficult as I was not a teacher, have never trained as a teacher, was a relatively young researcher (24) and not particularly ‘smart’. Consequently, I needed to pay attention to ‘impression management’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:83), cultivating a researcher identity and also one which demonstrated knowledge and experience.

Following Atkinson, who had his hair cut following scepticism at an initial ‘access’ meeting at an Edinburgh hospital, I paid particular attention to my appearance. Before starting the fieldwork I had my hair cut and for initial meetings regarding access I always wore a shirt, tie, dark trousers and smart shoes to indicate a professionalism and that I took what I was doing seriously. Attention to appearance also related to

‘fitting in’. Since at Cardinal James School most staff wore everyday casual clothing, such as jeans and a T-shirt, or leggings and a shirt, I wore whatever I felt comfortable in - a pair of jeans and a sweater for example. At Meadows School, it was very different. All male staff wore suits and, as said, pupils wore uniform. To compromise in order that I gain acceptance with both staff and pupils I wore smart trousers but a ‘casual’ shirt and a tie. Unfortunately, this rather resembled what a number of male 6th formers were wearing. Combined with being younger than most staff, this led to embarrassment on one occasion when, as my fieldnotes record, I arrive and

... go straight to the office - there’s another man in his 50’s there who is chatting with the receptionists. One says “what are you after?” to me as I go to pick up the visitors book. She says “That’s the visitors book, this is the late book”. I say that I’m after the visitors book and she say “oops, beg your pardon”... I assume she thought I was a 6th former (Fieldnote 20.11.95).

It was not often that I was thought to be a sixth former, but attention to research roles was important in gaining acceptance as a participant and researcher and hence, access to data. By taking me to the staffroom at Meadows School, introducing me to staff there at the outset and later arranging for me to have a pigeon hole, Jenny Patricks ‘labelled’ me in a helpful manner; introducing me as a researcher into a setting which was linked to the whole school made access to a range of people and sites within the school easier. It lessened the difficulties of developing a researcher identity and ‘snowballing’ - ‘using a small group of informants who are subsequently interviewed,



then asking them about their friends and interviewing them until a chain of informants has been selected' (Burgess 1984:55) - since as staff came in some would recognise who I was or would be introduced to me via the staff I had already met and might be sitting with.

Because, at Cardinal James School, Anne Church saw the research as geography based and did not introduce me to other members of staff I needed to define a role and gain access without assistance such as that given at Meadows School. The difficulties this presented for gaining acceptance, becoming visible and 'snowballing' within the school were exacerbated firstly by the split-site, which meant there were two staffrooms, and secondly by the number of PGCE students in the school which, unlike in Hammersley's case, created problems (Hammersley 1984:49). As 'foreigners' in the staffroom, both myself and the PGCE students at the top site staffroom tended to sit in the area which was the most communal and was not staked out as a particular staff group's territory. Just as PGCE students had relatively low teaching workloads and spent a lot of time in the staffroom, I spent time there attempting to become visible and part of the school. Thus, in terms of our actions and position we not only appeared very similar but this impacted on what, when discussing the significance of seating in the staffroom at Beachside, Ball terms 'social contact' (Ball 1984:78). In addition, because I was from the same institution as the students and would see some of them outside the settings, it became difficult not to converse with them. To counteract these commonalities I deliberately tried to distance myself from them, sitting separately and avoiding being seen coming and going with them. Paradoxically, whilst I sought to counteract the common ground I shared with the

PGCE students, establishing common ground with staff in both settings was an important device used in gaining access and acceptance.

By highlighting certain factors about my background, knowledge or experience I sought to develop research roles which would aid my acceptance and credibility within the settings. In particular I focused on establishing common ground, demonstrating expertise and striking 'bargains' with staff. Unable to draw on the shared experience of being a teacher within the settings (Burgess 1983; Ball 1981; Hargreaves 1967) I drew links between what I did and the activities of staff members by focusing on my role as a teacher at the university, even though that teaching was only part time. When staff mentioned a particular problem regarding teaching, if there was a parallel concern in higher education or in the seminars I taught, I would try and mention it. For example, when staff bemoaned the lack of general knowledge of their pupils I would give examples from my own similar experiences teaching university students. At both Cardinal James School and Meadows School I took marking to the staffroom and sometimes voiced concerns about it to the staff I was sat with.

Whilst constructing a teacher role had benefits in terms of establishing commonality, it was also important to show that I was also different. Without different and specific skills and experience it would be hard to make the research appear credible and worthwhile. In constructing the role of 'expert' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:77), I focused on my previous work for ACTIONAID (a 'Third World' charity), experience and knowledge gained in India and on the teaching materials I had co-authored for a development education centre and the Development Education

Association (DEA) (Development Education Association, 1996). To become a 'participant' I was also able to 'exploit relevant skills' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:87) and offered assistance in a number of areas of the curricula in each school. In addition to preventing my appearing 'conspicuous for an apparent lack of activity' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:88), developing the 'expert' role and enhancing visibility in the school, I was 'paying' or 'bargaining' for being permitted to be present in the setting. For example, during an interview with a Cardinal James School theology teacher whose lessons on poverty I wanted to observe, they mentioned that in a few weeks time they would be completing some work on the holocaust. I had just visited Auschwitz, had visited other holocaust memorials in Eastern Europe and am Jewish and thus offered to do a talk on the holocaust to the group who I would then observe the following week as they started the topic I was really interested in (though the fact that the work on poverty was then cancelled raises questions about the use of the word 'bargain' to describe this exchange). A background in music and theatre was the basis of my involvement in a cross-curricula arts project at Meadows school, The Chipko Project. The following fieldnote records one of the arts workers who was running the project repeating what I have just told him, saying that

[Matt's] done some drama, at which point people's eyes almost light up.

I say that I am willing to help out where possible - they say that would be great as they're all very rushed. I also mention that I have some technical experience from the Arts Centre [a large provincial theatre] so if they want help on that front I am more than willing. This is even better! Mr.Carter says that he's just spoken to someone who says that



there is a problem with it so this would be very helpful (Fieldnote 6.11.95).

Thus I was able to spend more time in the school, counteract the 'student' identity and be seen to be making an active contribution to a workload pressured by time and technical failure through suggestions and ideas during rehearsals, playing percussion in dance workshops, teaching drama to small groups, supervising backstage at the end of term performance and, in Jenny Patrick's terms, 'generally making myself useful'. However, I was selective in developing a role. Although familiar with the Chipko Movement through research for my masters degree, I withheld that knowledge in order not to distort the setting by becoming involved in a way which might impact on the substantive communication of the 'Third World' through the project; in this instance I chose to eschew the 'expert' role (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:77) in contrast to my construction of it in relation to being like a teacher.

This section has outlined the complexity of gaining access to the different sites within the curriculum and has shown, in particular, the need for sensitivity to the research context not simply as a matter of its usefulness as data, but in being able to research. It has shown how the researcher must respond to the different levels at which data collection takes place and how the researcher's identity is related to this. Finally, it has demonstrated that access needs to be approached as an ongoing and multi-level process. The aim of the final section of this chapter, now that we have established the research settings and sites and how access was gained to them, is to explore how data were collected and analysed.

## *Data Collection*

Just as the preceding section has attempted to show how messy and ‘political’ the research process is, the aim of this section is to outline the reality of the data collection in the two schools. Observational and interview data played interdependent roles in collecting data on both the research phenomenon and its context. In each setting where the ‘Third World’ was taught, case studies of its communication were observed and recorded via hand-written field notes. In addition, observational and participant observational data were collected on the sub-settings within the schools in order to contextualise the data from the sub-sites, and on the whole school to contextualise the sub-settings and sites (Burgess 1984:60). Unlike Hammersley, who feels that his staffroom sampling was biased (Hammersley 1984:52), the staffroom and contextual data was collected at different times and in different places since the lessons which were observed varied considerably through the year meaning that my presence in the school did not conform to any strict pattern. The following extract from my fieldnotes at Meadows School indicates the important role contextual data can play in guiding data collection and making sense of existing data:

I arrive at 10:25 [for a meeting with Jenny Patricks], knowing that break is at 10:40. There is no-one walking outside the school. I pass a class of pupils all of whom appear to be working. Inside the front door behind a large reception desk appearing to work are a male and female pupil - Yr. 7 by the looks of it. They look up expectantly as I walk in. I’d thought they were probably sitting there as a discipline measure and I make my way to the reception. This is a small room with bank style counter. I

explain that I am from Warwick and that I know that Mrs. Patricks is teaching 6th form. I have to sign in a book to say who I am, the organisation I am from, my arrival time and my car registration number. The receptionist says she'll send a pupil to tell her that I'm here. The pupil turns out to be one of those from the front door. I sit outside the office on one of two plastic chairs - classroom chairs. On the wall are a large numbers of sports photos of Meadows School students who went on to be successful in sport. In the space of about 3-5 minutes about 10 students pass, all walking quietly and in an orderly fashion. Younger ones wear uniform, older ones don't but are dressed quite smartly - no jeans.

A young male pupil walks into the hall/reception area and immediately asks if I'm here to see Mrs Patricks. He very politely asks if I'd like to go with him and he'll take me to where she is teaching the 6th form. He then walks steadily and calmly turning slightly to make sure that I am still with him, and opens all the doors very politely for me. When he delivers me to the room he says "goodbye" exceptionally politely and cheerily (Fieldnote 6.10.95).

This suggests an emphasis on formality and discipline within the school which is not only important in terms of developing a research role but may impact on the occurrence of the research phenomenon. Theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss 1967:45) was used to build from this data. Glaser and Strauss define this as



the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges (Glaser and Strauss 1967:45).

Consequently, I raised this question of formality and its potential impacts in an interview with a staff member, who responded that she thought it facilitated cross-curricula work in the school (see chapter 7). This offers an example of the way in which staff, like the pupils at Bishop McGregor (Burgess 1984:60), transgressed the boundaries of the research settings and sites, being members of the school, teachers in departments, co-ordinators of cross-curricular projects and, in some cases, members of management teams. Thus, interviews with them not only afforded data on the different settings about which they were informed (e.g. school, subject) but on the links between them. Anne Church, the head of geography at Cardinal James School, offers a clear example of the way in which such a link could be made:

Well I think it's significant in Cardinal James School because of the ethos of the school. Thinking about people as individuals but also the individual within a community (Interview, Anne Church).

Thus, the emphasis in interviews was on the interrelationship between phenomenon and context, addressing, particularly, the links between the overall setting, the sub-settings and sites.

It was intended that all interviews would be taped and fully transcribed and that in classroom observation I would be as unobtrusive as possible by sitting behind and out of sight of the pupils. Data were to be collected through hand-written notes taken whilst sat at the back of the classroom, its collection and analysis informed by the interest in both conceptualising the communication of the 'Third World' and explaining the perspective adopted. The interest in the 'story' being told about the 'Third World' led data collection in the classroom to address the lessons observed as texts (Stables 1996) and to centre on the way the 'story' was constructed through particular interactions within them. Thus, of primary importance were teacher commentary and lesson organisation, the establishment of narratives and organisation of information through question and answer sessions and textbook based activities. Pupil-pupil interactions were recorded when this was seen to impact on the story being narrated and teacher comments and reactions to the researcher were noted when of methodological and substantive importance. Complementing this observational data were data collected from interviews and conversations on the ways the staff conceptualised the 'story' that they told and on the factors that staff identified as informing how they taught. However, time pressure in the curriculum and the need to maintain good research relationships also required methodological adaptation and flexibility. The increasing workload of the National Curriculum, assessments and school inspections means that there is even less time for the researcher than there has perhaps been in the past. Whilst the time staff are willing to give the researcher relates to perceptions of the research subject, the researcher and the legacy of previous researchers, it is nonetheless the case that in absolute terms, they have less time available for being interviewed, arranging and agreeing to observation and 'getting to

know' researchers. This was demonstrated in both schools through comments about the potential time constraint on the research given the minimal 'free' time staff had, and in their comments regarding the lack of curricular space and time for communicating the 'Third World'. For example, Kate Carter, one of the deputy heads at Cardinal James School, commented in an interview about the inclusion of the 'Third World' in the curriculum:

I suppose I ought to get myself over to EDS [Educational Development Service] and see what they have but I think that's a difficulty, resourcing and finding time for it. Because I mean one thing with the National Curriculum is that you have to fit in so many things...  
(Interview, Kate Carter).

And as Anne Church responded when asked about the difficulty of explaining the concept of development:

I suppose I ought to make it less confusing but you've only got so many hours in the day and you've still got to get through all the [National Curriculum] criteria (Interview, Anne Church).

The question of time was particularly acute at Meadows School which had ten twenty-five minute lessons a day, starting at 8:40 and finishing at 3:00, with a lunch-break of only half an hour. Similar sentiments were expressed there regarding the National



Curriculum requirements. As a deputy head at Meadows School, Paul Whitbread, put it:

... I mean what drives staff really is getting through the bulk of specified elements of the National Curriculum and if you like, it's a bit of a straitjacket. And we find this time and again that staff are saying y'know I've gotta get through this work I've gotta get this done, we can't have people out on too many trips, we can't have too many things in school because it's taking them away from the subjects all the time, and then so it's a continual balancing act of trying to y'know, keep field trips going, keep theatre trips going all this sort of thing, at the same time as making sure staff have got enough time to get through the National Curriculum (Interview, Paul Whitbread).

In each school, the pressures under which staff were working limited their availability to be interviewed during school hours. Whilst some staff were willing for pupils to miss some lessons - geography lessons at Cardinal James School where I had become friendly with the department staff and offered classroom help, and personal and social education at Meadows School, largely due to its low academic status and the perceived link between it and the research subject - this was not possible with all staff. Compromise and adaptation were needed as in the case of seeking to interview Mary Jones who ran a scheme in which a Ugandan student was being sponsored by the pupils in her year group at Meadows School (Year 7). However, this was proving

difficult to arrange. The following exchange in the staffroom was recorded in my fieldnotes:

I ask MJ whether I could chat to her - just for ten minutes - next week.

She seems reluctant and then she suggests now - if only for ten minutes

- and sits down. I decide, therefore, to focus solely on the sponsorship

of James [the Ugandan pupil] (Fieldnote 8.4.96).

By asking for a '10 minute chat' I was seeking to make the request seem less weighty and to imply it would be less time consuming. This appeared to work but in coming into contact with the 'conditions' in the field of study (Burgess 1984:32), my interview methodology was substantially altered. By agreeing to do it there and then, the 'chat' would have to take place in the staffroom. This meant that recording would not be feasible - given background noise - and that any 'confidential' factors would be excluded. A 10 minute time-limit meant that the broader areas referred to in the interview schedule for staff could not be addressed. These compromises were accepted since they had to be weighed against the possibility of failing to secure a 'full' interview and hence any data at all on an important factor. The content of the 'chat' was then led by the prime imperative of securing data on that factor - the sponsorship of James.

The important part of maintaining research relationships and a research role was active participation in the school. This priority would sometimes entail compromise in pursuing the core research goals. For example, taking up my offer of help, staff

concerned with the arts project in Meadows School would enlist assistance in teaching drama, taking photos of the project for them and disciplining pupils. Such active participation served an important purpose in terms of my role and acceptability within the research settings, but prevented taking notes and recording what was happening at the time and necessitating its documentation after the event. Thus, mirroring the example of Mary Jones, the need for acceptance in the setting led to compromises in data collection.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has discussed the rationales behind the adoption of an ethnographic approach, introduced the research settings, explored the ways in which the research sites were defined and the data collection that took place within them. In outlining the ‘nuts and bolts’ of the fieldwork it has also highlighted the importance of the researcher’s background and the significance of the way the research was defined, given that it is not a formal school subject. Throughout, the chapter has emphasised the methodological implications of the ‘Third World’s’ ‘non-subject’ status and its fragmentation throughout the curriculum, highlighting some of the substantive concerns that this raises. How the research is defined has been at the centre of this intersection of methodological and substantive concerns. In the next chapter, we develop this further, analysing the theoretical implications of how the ‘Third World’ is defined and developing a conceptual framework within which this ‘non-subject’ can be located.



## CHAPTER 3

# **‘IT’S LABELLED IN DIFFERENCES’: CONCEPTUALISING THE ‘THIRD WORLD’ IN THE CURRICULUM**

I deal with it [the ‘Third World’] in geography and they certainly deal with it in theology ... yes we talk about [it]. I would have thought that we talk about issues right across the curriculum or think about issues across the curriculum that relate to people in third world countries and look at how unfortunate in many ways they are. And in what ways they live differently to us. I wouldn’t have thought though Matthew, that it’s actually written into the curriculum. So I don’t quite know what you mean there. Do you mean, is it written in or does the caring aspect permeate looking at third world issues? ... I mean if there’s an assembly and there’s a situation that has arisen like famine or whatever in a third world country then yes it would. And it would crop up in that way. But in a formal way no I don’t think so (Interview, Sue Barton, Geography teacher, Cardinal James School).

The curricular fragmentation of the ‘Third World’ that was explored as a methodological concern in chapter 2 is also a defining characteristic of its communication. The above quotation is from an interview in which Sue Barton, a Geography teacher at Cardinal James School, was asked whether she felt that the ‘Third World’ had a significant role to play in the school curriculum. Her answer reveals the plasticity of the ‘Third World’ in terms of the different forms and roles it can fulfil, informed by its curricular location. The quotation also reveals how the ‘Third World’ is communicated through themes and issues within the curriculum - in this case, caring for others, and learning about different ways of life - and suggests that the ‘Third World’ gains curricular currency through these since it is not what she would term a ‘formal’ part of the curriculum. This chapter explores how the ‘Third World’ is defined in terms of its purpose in the curriculum, and outlines a conceptual framework for analysing the roles that it can play. It is divided into three broad sections. The first explores the plasticity and desirability of the ‘Third World’ as an element of the school curriculum and relates this to its association with wider curricular themes and issues, particularly difference. Section two outlines a theoretical framework for the research centred on the concept of difference, whilst the third section explores the potential engagements between the ‘Third World’ and existing debates around difference in education.

### *Defining the ‘Third World’: plasticity, desirability and difference*

That the ‘Third World’ is not a formal subject and has a variety of roles and functions in the curriculum is fundamental to its conceptualisation. As the opening quotation demonstrates, some staff find it difficult to offer a precise definition of the role and

construction of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. This centres around its plasticity. The communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum is not centred around one particular purpose; it can play a variety of roles and this is linked to wider curricular and educational themes:

I think it's about better informed young people. I think it's partly to challenge lazy stereotypes and if possible remove lazy stereotypes, partly to replace them with a better informed fuller understanding of issues like how world economies work how multinational companies work and what the impact they have can be, how devastating that can be of course (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School).

In seeking to define what the 'Third World' is 'about' in the curriculum, Andrew McGregor relates it to different issues. The 'Third World' has a variety of potential roles in the curriculum and these must be seen in relation to the wider themes and discourses with which it is linked. The interdependence of the 'Third World' with existing frameworks and debates is indicated in the following quotations in which staff relate it to the school 'aim statements' (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School) - formally drawn up statements of the school's aims. In the first, Jennifer Whelan, the principal at Cardinal James School responds to a question on the factors that influence the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum:



I honestly believe that we are an inclusive school. I'll say this now. There is an ethos statement that is absolutely wonderful. But you spoke to me before about rhetoric and reality and the rhetoric is absolutely wonderful because it's derived from the gospel. The reality isn't quite so wonderful (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

A similar opinion is offered by Andrew McGregor, headteacher at Meadows School, who, responding to an interview question on the significance of the 'Third World' in the school, outlines its part in the school aim statement and why he sees it as important:

AM Well as you see from our aim statement I mean we very much encouraged an international perspective - I don't know if you've got a copy of that

MS I've seen it

AM You should take that away. That is something that is in every form room. We talk about, what are the three sections? Meadows School and it's place in the world. I mean there are a couple of lines in that which are very much about the broad community [gets up and looks at it]. In particular 'become more aware of people's needs elsewhere and respond positively to it. Take opportunities ... for personal contact in Britain and Europe and beyond.' Twenty first century. That's three things there in

particular I feel are indicative of what we would like in principle to have as an international perspective ...

But, how confident am I that it's actually happening, on a broad enough scale? When I do my tours of the school, do my tours of departments and so on, I wouldn't say I'm kind of overwhelmed by the presence of this dimension. There has been quite a lot in which there's been a kind of narrowing down of people's focal points. So I think there are good reasons for doing it, I think there are signs of worthwhile activity. I would say that a subtle and thorough awareness of the different kinds of economy and the different kinds of culture around the globe, they're perhaps not being addressed quite as thoroughly as one would hope (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

Relating the role of the 'Third World' to the aims of the school indicates a relationship between it and dominant educational discourses, in this case, the importance of an 'international perspective' in educating. Statements of school aims represent the educational ideals on which the school is focused and can be interpreted as an indication of what are seen as educational 'best practice' by those playing a part in defining the direction of the school. These quotations not only demonstrate the ways the 'Third World' is perceived in relation to broader contemporary debates in education, but they also show how the 'Third World' is in a sense attached to those themes given their dispersion and absence of articulation within a single subject. The quotations also reveal the normative nature of staff comments on the role of the 'Third

World'. The difference between rhetoric and reality is acknowledged by staff, with the 'Third World' being defined as a desirable and relevant element of young people's education because of its role in communicating broader themes, but one whose articulation falls short of the rhetoric:

I honestly do think if we ordered the curriculum very carefully it's probably difficult to find any area where you couldn't have some consideration for the third world (Interview, Jennifer Whelan, Principal, Cardinal James School).

Descriptions of the role of the 'Third World' in the curriculum are not necessarily defined by the role that it actually plays but by its curricular potential. The data in this chapter are analysed in terms of how the 'Third World' is defined as a curricular entity by staff, not in terms of how it is taught. This does not diminish the importance of the data, which represent a useful benchmark against which the reality can be compared. Why some of the roles articulated are not realised in the reality of the curriculum also draws attention to the structures constraining their articulation.

Rhetoric on the potential roles of the 'Third World' in the curriculum also offers a useful context within which a conceptual framework can be defined. Having emphasised, at one level, the potential heterogeneity of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, at another level, the communication of the 'Third World' can be conceptualised in relation to a single concept:



It's a major cross-curriculum thing really, but it's picked up in lots and lots of different ways. And it isn't always, it's not labelled for the children as such as 'third world' or 'economically developing world.' It's, it's labelled in differences, different religions, different cultures, different ways of life, different agriculture, different physical, different politics (Interview, Anne Church).

The range of roles for the 'Third World' in the curriculum centre around a range of differences contained within constructions of it: cultural; economic; political. The different roles the 'Third World' plays - from being part of learning about economics to engendering caring to questioning stereotypes - reflect a variety of perspectives on and engagements with the meaning of difference; the communication of the 'Third World' can be understood in terms of discourses of difference.

This section has demonstrated how the 'Third World' is both a vehicle for existing discourses of difference, and that existing discourses are also a vehicle for the 'Third World' in the curriculum. It has suggested that the 'Third World' is seen as a desirable element of the school curriculum, informed by its engagement with the wider themes and debates with which it is interdependent. Finally, the section has revealed a paradox in terms of the fragmentation of the 'Third World' throughout the curriculum, underpinned by unity around the concept of difference. The aim of the next section is to explore in more detail, the relationship between the 'Third World' and meanings of and engagements with difference.

## *Theorising difference*

Postmodern and poststructural interventions into social theory have led to reflection on conceptions of difference as conveying particular epistemological and political positions (Usher and Edwards 1994:25). Centred around critiques of modernist thought, poststructuralism and postmodernism have questioned claims to 'know'. Through Foucault's work in particular, knowledge has been analysed in relation to power:

We should admit that power produces knowledge ... There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations (Foucault 1977:27).

Thus, as Said puts it in his exploration of the construction of the 'Orient' in the 'texts of empire', knowledge of the 'Orient' is a 'sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient' (Said 1978:6). These deconstructions question the foundations of what are seen as 'knowledge'; what Lyotard refers to as the 'incredulity to master-narratives' (Lyotard 1984:xxiv) unsettles the universal 'stories' through which meaning is generated. Thus, 'development' is discredited as an objective and value-free description of the ways societies and economies change and is seen as a product of Western history and strategies (Crush 1995a:6; Esteva 1992). The question of difference has been central to these debates:

As postmodernism privileges heterogeneity and difference, there is a re-emergence of concern for the validity of 'the other'. Postmodernism has been particularly important in acknowledging the multiple forms of otherness as they emerge from the differences in subjectivity, gender, sexuality, class and 'race' (Sarup 1996:101).

Without universally valid 'truths' and paradigms through which to assess the 'other', difference becomes a shifting concept, rather than a neutral description; it conveys political and epistemological assumptions. Consequently, the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum must be understood as occupying several such positions. In exploring the different roles of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, this chapter locates it in relation to existing political and theoretical debates, particularly as they are played out within education. The section begins by analysing the communication of the 'Third World' through a modernist frame before moving onto consideration of it in relation to development education, pluralist multiculturalism and critical multiculturalism. The order taken is roughly chronological, reflecting the broad shifts in understanding from modernist to what can be broadly termed, postmodern paradigms. Because postmodern approaches represent a critique of modernist thought as much as an alternative programme of action, they need to be understood in the context of what they are critiquing.

We set I think to provide a contrast between the developed world and the developing world. Because there is that huge gap and it has widened between the richer north and the poorer south. And to make them aware



really from a geographical point of view the different physical factors that influence as well as the socio and economic factors that will influence people's lives. And to get across to them really in fact how lucky they actually are I think to live in this country. And their standard of living, they moan about and people moan about it here, when you compare it to others in the third world it's so different (Interview, Susie Baker, Head of Geography, Meadows School).

Susie Baker's definition of the role of the 'Third World' in the Geography curriculum suggests that, epistemologically, her approach does not engage with the meaning or construction of difference or with pupils' ideas of difference, but states difference as a fact. The purpose of communicating the 'Third World' is to establish difference within young people's understanding. This has links to communicating the 'Third World' through charity:

Well I think ... it's awareness raising. It's awareness raising of people who are less fortunate than ourselves (Interview, Sue Barton, Cardinal James School).

In fulfilling this role, the 'Third World' is constructed in order that young people can 'look at the disadvantaged' (Interview, Principal) and 'realise how fortunate one is to live in a western country in a material sense' (Interview, Fiona Bamford, Acting Head of Theology, Cardinal James School); difference is treated unproblematically. That the communication of the 'Third World' through 'development' and 'charity',

defined in these quotations, lacks an engagement with difference, reflects a firmly modernist position. This is informed by their historical roles as the traditional ways in which the 'Third World' has been communicated in the UK. Notions of 'development' and philanthropy were intimately bound up in colonial ideology and practice, followed by the modernisation project in the second half of the twentieth century. Their conceptualisation as 'modernist' - as reflecting a particular paradigm - is the product of critiques of them; that analysis highlights and questions the treatment of knowledge as fact is informed by postmodern and poststructural interventions.

At one level, the roles for the 'Third World' in the curriculum which centre around specifically addressing difference can be seen as a critique of its 'traditional' forms. Alternative approaches to the 'Third World' in the curriculum focus on questioning dominant and modernist constructions of difference manifested through both the presence of particular constructions of difference, or the absence of difference. Having articulated concerns about the ways the geography department communicated the 'Third World' in Meadows School, Andrew McGregor was asked why he thought this was the case:

Some people think ... that geographers are a particular type of person. I'm not happy with that coz you know it seems to me that's just another form of stereotyping. People are a lot more complicated than that. But I think geography may perhaps be a certain kind of discipline ... I mean, it's an awkward discipline because you've got the whole science, the geological side of things, the physical geography in this sometimes

rather uneasy alliance with this social science, description of peoples. And I sometimes wonder how rigorous the discipline of the subject is when it tries to yoke these things together. It seems to me that geography lacks the rigour of a pure science, but also sometimes lacks the subtlety of a social science and is a little bit of a hybrid subject. And I think that that partly accounts for it. I think also it seems to thrive on slightly simplistic notions about societies, countries. It's slightly reductive it seems to me. But I do feel, I mean looking at, you're much more likely to encounter that kind of approach that sort of 'well they're still in the dark ages' approach in a geography lesson than you are in a history lesson, for instance. History's a very different kind of discipline that requires slightly more complex thinking and multifactor thinking coming in. For me geography's still, on the social science side, rather reductive (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School).

Andrew McGregor's critique of geography centres on its failure to consider diversity and complexity. His critique also reinforces claims about Geography's traditional conservatism (e.g. see Gilbert 1984,1986; Hopkin 1994:67). Against this, Andrew McGregor identifies attention to diversity and complexity as positive factors within history teaching. A critique of modernist thought thus provides the key comparison; why it is that 'complex' and 'multifactor' thinking are more desirable is emphasised less than the pitfalls of modernist thought. Jim Roberts, the head of history at



Meadows School, speaks of teaching Islamic civilisations in the history department as a response to absences which reflect an ethnocentric perspective:

... when initially the National Curriculum was devised it became very political ... and National Curriculum history as it's really been devised is to some extent at least I think an attempt to glorify our history and our society and as such it can't give too much credence or room to alternatives, alternative interpretations ... Islamic civilisations to some extent ... gives us an opportunity where something politicians thought "well OK we've got to pay lip service to wider history", and also where I think history teachers and historians sort of insisted y'know, that it can not be as eurocentric as the politicians want it and therefore to a small extent we got our own way. But to a very large extent I think the politicians were successful and they got what they wanted which was a eurocentric National Curriculum in history (Interview, Jim Roberts, Head of History).

Jim Roberts defines the eurocentrism of the National Curriculum in terms of the absences within it; that there is no space left for 'alternatives' or 'alternative interpretations'. The National Curriculum is centred around themes which give priority to modernist constructions of identity which privilege the history, experiences and perspectives of England and, in doing so, marginalise and exclude perspectives which may contradict those perspectives (see also Gillborn 1995; Hardy and Vieler-Porter 1992; MacNeil 1990). The communication of Islamic civilisations is thus borne

out of discontent with the bias of the curriculum with respect to difference. At one level, increased recognition of difference is a product of changing frameworks of knowledge which point to biases inherent in existing practice. But at the same time, these paradigm shifts do not exist in a vacuum; they are informed by, as well as informing, changes in social, political and economic relations. There is insufficient space to enter into debate around this interrelationship, but it is important to recognise that the heightened importance of difference is not located simply in paradigm shifts, but also in changing socio-economic and political realities which have intensified consciousness of difference. In particular, issues around difference have been closely linked to processes of globalisation:

I think we're a world situation now, I think children shouldn't grow up with a very sort of localised view of things (Interview, Kate Carter, Deputy Head, Cardinal James School).

Awareness of difference is linked to being a 'world situation'; the world rather than the nation is the context within which knowledge must be relevant. In a more prescriptive manner, Jim Roberts links a global knowledge to solving the problems 'associated with the 'Third World'':

I would say that the third world which is neglected at the moment is neglected because we are so eurocentric, so wrapped up in our own society and similar societies that there's so much ignorance about the third world. And the only way in which we're going to sort of solve the

problems associated with the third world in a world which has become increasingly interdependent is actually to include it in as many ways as we can in the curriculum (Interview, Jim Roberts, Meadows School).

Jim Roberts links ignorance of the 'Third World' to its current difficulties, placing the understanding of difference as centrally important in a 'world which has become increasingly interdependent'. Thus, globalisation is seen as an important factor in the increasing attention to difference.

Globalisation and debates around difference have been linked primarily through postmodern and poststructural interventions, which have particularly emphasised cultural flows (e.g. West 1990; Morley and Robins 1995; Turner 1994; Appadurai 1990). One of the consequences of globalisation has been that cultures are more frequently forced to rub against each other (Rattansi 1994:28) through, for example, the growth of more multicultural societies and the extending reach of capitalism. A further level to the cultural encounters produced by globalisation is a result of changes in media and communications (Morley and Robbins 1995). 'Time-space compression' (Harvey 1990) has had the effect of shrinking the globe. Rattansi suggests that the almost instantaneous transmission of events around the world heightens fears and anxieties which result from a world of apparent contingency and unsettles secure identities (Rattansi 1994:33). Difference is confronted more frequently, transforming conventional boundaries of knowledge, culture and understanding. Increasing interdependence brings cultures into greater contact with each other; the nation state is no longer a bounded site (Turner 1994:110). Thus, alternative ways of 'knowing' and



‘being’ encounter each other, unsettling the Western and modernist construction of ‘knowing’ and ‘being’:

... these global transformations constantly problematize the idea of the self and humanity (Turner 1994:111).

Turner suggests that a state of ‘permanent reflectiveness’ - a concept taken from Helmut Schelsky via Berger and Luckmann - (Turner 1994:112), is a result of the plurality of worlds that are presented in an increasingly globalised world; it is a product of the relativism produced through globalisation’s critique of universality and as such problematizes the notion of a stable ‘self’. This relates to Rattansi’s claim that globalisation, seen within a postmodern framing, presents an assault on the binary oppositions that are an important element of modernist knowledge:

Globalization is framed here as sets of uneven, contradictory, confused and uncertain processes which in their complexity and heterogeneity can make a mockery of the usual analytical binaries (Rattansi 1994:27).

Increasing cultural flows lead to greater complexities of identity and difference than the traditional categories, such as class, can allow. Thus, the modernist conceptualisation of the subject, identity and identity formation, are questioned.

Whilst globalisation may question modernist paradigms, it may also, and indeed simultaneously, reinforce and strengthen modernist frameworks. Globalisation could

be seen to be as much a master-narrative as modernisation theory: groups are excluded from processes of globalisation; there remains a dominant centre and subordinate periphery; socio-economic and political changes are defined by reference to a norm (interdependence). In addition, more rapidly disseminated pictures of famine-stricken Sudanese, for example, may reinforce the essentialising and modernist construction of the 'Third World' as a poor victim in contrast to the affluent and empowered self. Caution is needed, as Morley and Robbins assert, since one cannot assume any 'automatic "media effects"' (Morley and Robbins 1995:126). Responding to a question on whether she thinks the 'Third World' plays an important role in the curriculum, Susie Baker, the head of geography at Meadows School says that

... it does yes, because our children are so unaware. They're out here in the countryside [chuckles], they go perhaps, you know, to Springton and they see the bottom end of town [laughs again - implying mock 'aghh the bottom end'] with your Indian and then you know its relating those factors back here. They don't touch on it otherwise. Some of them are not very well travelled. And I think it does make them stop and look at other things that there are in the world. They didn't realise, some of them, you know when we did the Maasai, for example, you know they are fascinated that these people still actually live like that (Interview, Susie Baker).

Susie Baker links the 'Third World' to issues of multiculturalism and cultural awareness at both a local and a world level. However, the last sentence suggests that

this awareness is framed within a modernist discourse in which the way the Maasai live is defined as 'backward'; they 'still' live as they do. Emphasis is not on cultural flows but on the ability to 'gaze' or 'see' (Escobar 1995:12; Gregory 1994:64) from a still fixed position.

Poststructural and postmodern interventions and insights have suggested that difference is a contested and problematic notion. Thus, the interrelationship of globalisation and questions of difference should not be pre-judged - just as globalisation may simultaneously erode national boundaries and intensify national identity, so may it simultaneously reinforce and unsettle modernist conceptions of difference. Reflecting this, the communication of the 'Third World' feeds into these broad debates in different ways. How the 'Third World' is communicated is, at one level, part of the processes of global cultural encounters which may reinforce or unsettle modernist paradigms. But it is also located within particular national and local discourses of difference (Zachariah 1992). Thus, the next section develops and focuses discussion through attention to debates around difference in education in the UK and to the different ways in which the communication of the 'Third World' engages with these.

### *Multiculturalism, difference and the 'Third World'*

Education is a key site in the politics of difference and has formed the centre of considerable theorising and debate focused around themes such as 'race', gender and ethnicity. This represents a shift away from both 'traditional' and 'new' sociology of education at a number of levels. Although the latter began to address the question of



curricular knowledge and curriculum rather than the broader ideological debate on the relations between education and economy, like its predecessor, the primary emphasis was on the 'educational inequalities in access and outcome' (Halsey et.al 1997:491). Within the sociology of education, the last decade has seen a return to the emphasis, first developed in the 1970's, on the politics of culture, knowledge and the curriculum (particularly in the United States), this time associated with debates around democracy, knowledge and education in a postmodern society (Halsey et.al.1997:491). Whilst Whitty asserts that the Foucault influenced approaches do not generate insights that are 'radically different from those that emerged out of the new sociology of education' (Whitty 1985:37), poststructural and postmodern interventions around knowledge and the curriculum do not simply shift focus onto different players, themes and structures. They also operate from a fundamentally different epistemological and political position which unsettle the traditional conceptions of power, structure and identity through which education is seen and through which the relationship between the individual and the state is framed. Analyses influenced by postmodern and poststructural perspectives have moved beyond - but not excluded - an emphasis on class toward a more complex consideration of identity and difference (e.g. Usher and Edwards, 1994: 214; Giroux & McClaren 1994; McClaren 1994). But whilst research has focused to a greater degree on various issues around difference and education, it has not specifically addressed 'Third World' difference. On the other hand, whilst development education did not present an appropriate methodological route, it would appear to present a conceptual one, offering a useful bridge between the wider politics of difference and

the 'Third World' in the curriculum. The Development Education Association (DEA) 'Values and Vision Statement' states that:

The DEA is concerned with the values which are implicit in the process of education for change for which we are working in our society as part of the transformation of the world.

*Development Education's concern is ultimately for the dignity and worth of every human being, recognising her or his role in society and the interrelationship with the global environment.*

*DE recognises the need of the poor, oppressed and marginalised to be empowered and to choose their own path to development.*

*DE seeks to celebrate what we have in common with our fellow human beings, in our rich diversity of cultures and traditions.*

*DE wishes to enable people from the North and South to enter into a relationship based on solidarity, dialogue and partnership where each is willing to listen, to receive and give in an appropriate way.*

*DE acknowledges the role of education as a life-long process in enabling people to change limiting perspectives, oppressive structures and the lifestyles which depend on them.*

*In organising ourselves for development education, we value cooperation, democratic procedures and equal opportunities* (DEA 1998).

Thus, development education would appear to focus specifically on the ‘Third World’ and particularly on how its difference is communicated. At the same time, it reflects the issue of the ‘Third World’s’ plasticity in the curriculum, embracing a range of issues around its inclusion, tying in particularly well with Jim Roberts’ linking of representation of the ‘Third World’ in the UK with addressing its development. But whilst development education appears to offer a useful focus and framework for analysis, it does not form part of the repertoire of themes and debates within which the curricular communication of the ‘Third World’ is located; it does not hold currency amongst the staff in the two schools. As indicated in chapter two, staff do not define the ‘Third World’ in relation to development education. On the other hand, the ‘Third World’ was closely associated with multiculturalism by staff in both schools, as will be demonstrated in both this and chapters six and seven. As the dominant form of engagement with difference in education, multiculturalism is a key factor informing the construction of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum. Thus, the different and sometimes contradictory, interpretations of it (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:1-26; Goldberg 1994:7), and the relationship between these and the ‘Third World’, are an important part of the context of the ‘Third World’s’ inclusion in the curriculum (e.g. Zachariah 1992). Consequently, the aim of the remainder of this chapter is to explore



the ways some of the existing debates around difference in education intersect with the communication of the ‘Third World’.

The multicultural focus of staff rhetoric in both schools reflects the increasing dominance of multiculturalism as the discourse through which difference is addressed in education in the UK. This is reflected in the following exchange with Susie Baker, the head of geography at Meadows School:

SB ... We’ve all quite got multicultural policies [laughs quietly].

MS What each department.

SB [continues laughing quietly] Yes.

MS Oh really ... ?

SB ... It’s difficult coz I think, in, well geography again we’re lucky as a subject that lends itself to it.

MS Do you have to change anything as a result of that policy...?

SB No we haven’t ... again it was just textbooks that came out that you had your equal opportunities and, different coloured people in the textbooks [says this laughing implying that it is rather silly/superficial]. That everybody wasn’t all white or all black. But they were aware of that when they wrote all the new textbooks and so it came through quite naturally (Interview, Susie Baker, Meadows School).

This conveys both the pervasiveness and embeddedness of multiculturalism at the same time as highlighting difficulties around its meaning. Andrew McGregor's critique of geography's reductionism and simplification of complex 'social science' problems is reflected in Susie Baker's definition of multiculturalism as a form of 'window dressing'. Multiculturalism is a contested concept; it has a variety of possible meanings which in turn inform the ways it is carried out in practice (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:1-26; Goldberg 1994:7). The aim of the following analysis and review is to explore how the 'Third World' in the curriculum engages with different interpretations of multiculturalism and hence different epistemological and political positions.

The linking of the 'Third World' with existing debates around difference in education engages it with the particular agendas of those discussions. This is perhaps most clear in relation to race and ethnicity, at one level because as well as being poor, the 'Third World' is made up largely of non whites, but also because these form the focus of debates around difference in education. In a lengthy response to a question on what factors at the school would inform the communication of the 'Third World', the principal at Cardinal James School states explicitly:

I think what we have to do in a school like Cardinal James School where largely we have a white population, we have ethnic communities of Poles and Italians, just thinking about what our country's like, where it's the black face or the coloured face that's - coloured's not the nice word I know, a black face I'll stick with - is the one that stands out and

therefore is sometimes devalued. I think it becomes just like the Swann report said, even more important that we address the issues with children coz otherwise they don't see things like black people in positions of authority and black cultures celebrated and I think as well there is no doubt at all that you can't expect things to happen, you have to nurture them. (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

The racial difference of the 'Third World' is thus linked to challenging racial prejudice in the UK (Osler 1994a). Racist discourse is challenged by attention to the privileging of whites as empowered and thus to the denial of black capacity and action in influencing society. It also addresses the relative invisibility of black 'culture'. The head of history at Cardinal James School makes a similar point:

I suppose if you're looking at issues like race and prejudice it's important really to look at the third world ... Because I think there is a tendency that some of these youngsters might think that people in the third world are uncivilised and I suppose in a sense ... what they see in the media is all to do with famine, drought. They never I suppose see anything very positive about the third world. They don't see any cities in Africa. And they don't see business men and lawyers going about their business. I mean it's important for them to know perhaps another side of the third world (Interview, Susan Porter).



Both these quotations, the first explicitly and the second implicitly, link the communication of the 'Third World' with a pluralist multicultural approach to prejudice, reflecting the dominant definition of multicultural education in the UK articulated in the Swann Report (DES 1985. See also Osler 1994a:40).

Described as 'the boldest, most comprehensive statement in the subject of multicultural education so far produced in Britain' (Williams 1989:vii), the Swann Report - *Education For All* (DES 1985) - emerged from debates over the achievement of ethnic minority children, particularly West Indians (Verma 1989a:1; Blackledge 1994:250). The committee of Enquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups was asked to look into the educational needs of pupils from a range of ethnic groups although the main focus was children from Asian and West Indian backgrounds (Verma 1989a:1). It was concluded that achievement was lower, with consequences for opportunities later in life, as a result of racial discrimination - 'conscious and unconscious, personal and institutional' (Verma 1989a:2). The enquiry perceived the existence of a multicultural society in which some cultures were being treated unfairly. To combat this the report 'stresses the educational benefits to be derived from an enhancement of racial and cultural diversity' (Verma 1989a:2). Thus, the Swann report, which set a precedent for much multicultural work, was instrumental in attacking prejudice in relation to achievement (Blackledge 1994:251). It argued for a celebration and recognition of the validity of difference as well as an attack on discrimination as a means to a particular end: a 'pluralist' society. This is reflected in the above quotations on the role of the 'Third World' which focus particularly on challenging prejudice through attacking stereotypes as well as

responding to absences. Emphasis is on visual representation, with the second quotation focusing on the media and its representation of only one side of the 'Third World'. To counter those images, alternative constructions are put forward which represent 'another' side - the presence of cities in Africa.

A second important level of intersection between the 'Third World' and the pluralist multiculturalism of Swann, particularly given the predominantly 'white' makeup of both Meadows School and Cardinal James School, is the emphasis on 'Education for All'. The focus of Swann was not only on schools with ethnic minorities but also examined the broader nature of education in the UK. Thus, it recognised that the limited achievements of some were rooted in the education of others. Consequently, the Report advocated a plural or multicultural 'education for all' in the sense that all are members of a multicultural society; all education in that society should reflect its national and diverse context:

If things are to get better, then the educational system must pay just as much attention to the education of the white majority as it does to the education of the ethnic minorities (Swann 1993:3).

This approach is reflected in the identification, by the headteacher at Meadows School, of the 'monocultural' (Interview, Andrew McGregor) location of the school as an important factor informing the inclusion of multiculturalism in the curriculum. As he puts it during a discussion about the reasons for including the 'Third World' in the curriculum:

I think a number of us are conscious of the particular nature of this school and its setting and, as I said right at the start, the particularly big challenge of getting a more international perspective for the kids. And therefore, anything that crops up that looks promising in that respect does tend to get quite a lot of support (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

Andrew McGregor's perspective not only encapsulates the 'Education for All' dimension of report, but also points to the importance of an 'international perspective'. In addition to 'education for all', the Swann report argued that:

In our view an education which seeks only to emphasise and enhance the ethnic group identity of the child, at the expense of developing both a national and indeed an international global perspective, cannot be regarded as in any sense multicultural (DES 1985:322).

Thus, cultural diversity was not only accepted but globalised, with a recommendation that young people should be globally aware and understand nations as interdependent rather than discreet (Lynch 1989a). This aspect of the report is particularly important for the communication of the 'Third World', tying into the debates around globalisation and difference that were explored earlier and also since it directly 'castigates the inaccurate, outdated and stereotyped views on the 'Third World' frequently projected by schools' (Lynch 1989a:118). The report not only rested on a notion of a multicultural nation but a multicultural world, recognising a rather larger



melting pot of cultures and one in which encounters need not necessarily be face to face. As Lynch puts it, ‘a commitment to respect persons cannot halt at Dover’ (Lynch 1989:vii):

In the third world we have societies that have great cultures and great richness with problems of various kinds, that might be caused by, and if we take an example of Bangladesh, for example, geography itself. You know, the rains that come and wash homes the away and wash the crops away. And people who really are deserving of our support in the way we support anybody and I’d like to think without any kind of patronising aspect of that (Interview, Jennifer Whelan, Principal, Cardinal James School).

In this context, charity toward the ‘Third World’ is communicated as part of the widening of young people’s horizons. It is part of educating people about the world beyond their own and in this sense, it engages with difference in terms of a pluralist multicultural demonstration of global diversity. However, it also encompasses the local/universal paradox at the heart of globalisation. Whilst at one level the world is constructed in terms of a diversity and enormity of which the ‘Third World’ is a particularly stark example, the interdependence at the heart of the notion of a ‘globalised world’ brings the world closer together. As the principal puts it:

... one of the things that we’re writing into PSE [Personal and Social Education] is the idea of a community theme starting with something in

year 7 which is going to be really nurturing the primary community, but what I would like to see developing is the idea of small world community and then branching out into the wider world (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

However, the notion of community is a problematic one. The implication behind this position is of commonality as a means to sharing diversity, thus assuming the consensual model of society on which pluralist multiculturalism is based. The headteacher at Meadows School speaks of a similar role for the 'Third World':

And although we only teach French and German here we're quite keen to develop things elsewhere. I mean, it's not the third world but we've got links now with a school in Hong Kong, which of course will become part of the third world, or world two and a half, some extra new world shortly. In fact, we're hoping to send a party out just before the hand over next year. And with Japan, we've got links as well. But we've also got links in Africa. We've got a student James that we sponsor as a school, you may know about it, in Uganda, and Year 7 students here have taken that kind of thing very seriously. And I think that there's actually scope for pushing out a little bit, y'know, that as we move into new technology, video conferencing and so on, there are quite interesting opportunities opening up. I'd personally like to see one or two slightly more adventurous links with say, South or Central

America such as one or two schools I've been aware of, have developed  
(Interview, Andrew McGregor).

At one level, these approaches appear to be informed by an intercultural perspective as they seem to represent a

... move from 'multicultural' as factual description of all societies, to 'intercultural' as denoting the active process of intergroup relationships and the educational response to this reality (Fyfe 1993:47).

However, they do not define the roles of the 'Third World' in terms of the structures within which interactions with difference take place. According to Fyfe, interculturalism

stresses both the dynamic nature of cultures and the problematic nature of their interpenetration. If intercultural education is to provide that necessary common conceptual ground in the field it must be carefully defined to set it within the broader socio-economic and political context of racism and unequal power relationships (Fyfe 1993:47).

The focus of both anti-racism's and interculturalism's critiques of pluralist multiculturalism is the consensual model of society on which it rests, denying contradiction and conflict in society. For example, whilst Swann identifies 'a pluralist society ... where diversity is celebrated within a framework of commonly shared



values' (Fyfe 1993:46), the report does not attempt definition of those values, perhaps reflecting a postmodern influenced reluctance to claim to 'know'. Through engagement with the pluralist conceptions of multiculturalism, the 'Third World' in the curriculum has the potential to reproduce some of its pitfalls. But as will be shown, the 'Third World' also potentially engages with and reflects critical approaches to pluralist multiculturalism, implying the possibility of contradiction not only between the failure to engage with difference and approaches which do engage with it, but also between different forms of engagement with difference.

Anti-racism has been the most vociferous and widely recognised dissenting voice in debates around difference and education in the UK. Fyfe outlines the critique of multiculturalism offered by the 'father' of anti-racism, Chris Mullard, in terms of its

restrictive focus on culture, rather than racism, and its failure to connect the domains of race, class, gender or region (Fyfe 1993:40).

Thus, anti-racism is active where multiculturalism is passive. The emphasis should be on the structural factors informing prejudice and ignorance, and racism should be explicitly addressed (e.g. Cohen and Cohen 1986; Rattansi 1992; Carrim 1995). Grinter suggests that because the two are divided in terms of their social and political philosophies, this gives rise to a set of dichotomies underpinning the debate in which multiculturalism is seen as liberal/conservative, descriptive, confirming the established structure, concerned with the appreciation of other cultures, appealing primarily to emotion and emphasising social and cultural aspects of life whilst anti-

racism is radical, analytical, seeking to question and change society, critical of one's own society, appealing to intellect and emphasising the social and political (Grinter 1985:8). Multiculturalism's emphasis on learning about other people's cultures diverts attention from what should be the main focus: the racism of one's own culture. A failure to connect structural factors and racism restricts activities to places where there are ethnic minorities, thus excluding people in rural areas. Whilst the focus of this research is not on the multiculturalism versus anti-racism debate, the following interview extract would suggest that the strategies produced by the anti-racist critique of multiculturalism were not universally successful, at least in their implementation:

So for year 11 we decided we would look at discrimination so we got the ... commission for racial equality and they came and gave us a lot of stuff, came in and talked to them, for many years. It was in the days really that pre-dated the anti-racist attitude because the personnel that replaced the people that we knew were not prepared to come and do that because they didn't see promoting social harmony as being their issue. They saw the issue as being anti-racist ... And I had them once and it was a very bad thing to do. It put the kids backs up completely. Because a lot of our children, whilst they might be racist to some extent, it's not deliberate in any way and it was portrayed to them as though they were being deliberately white and racist (Interview, Jenny Patricks, Head of Religious Education, Meadows School).

This raises a series of issues around race and educational strategies and highlights the more aggressive and overtly political side to anti-racism outlined in the literature (e.g. Flew 1987). Although the 'Third World' was linked to combating racism, none of the staff interviewed specifically defined it as an anti-racist issue, preferring the terms multicultural and intercultural.

Whilst anti-racism may have formed the focus of critiques of multiculturalism, there have also been critiques which claim to speak from within a multiculturalism which is fundamentally critical of pluralist multiculturalism, anti-racism and interculturalism:

The 'traditionalists', the multiculturalists and the racists occupy the same epistemological terrain. They all share the misleading assumption that it is possible to produce a singular, uncontested, objective and accurate representation of the reality external to the literary or the photographic or any other text. They thus ignore or obscure a different, more democratic objective: that is, the search for mechanisms for giving voice to a range of representations, and for encouraging a critical dialogue and interrogation of all intellectual and political frameworks (Rattansi 1992:34).

Critical multiculturalism, as defined by Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), is a further product of the critiques of multiculturalism and anti-racism and is one of a number of postmodern and poststructural approaches (e.g. see also Giroux & McClaren 1994).



At one level, their ‘critical multiculturalism’ is a form of multiculturalism or interculturalism produced through more postmodern and polemical language. At the same time, it also suggests new perspectives in its attempt to ‘sophisticate and update’ the critiques of how ‘education and culture at large privilege whites, males and individuals from the upper economic classes’ (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:27):

A critical multiculturalism concerns itself with issues of justice and social change and their relation to the pedagogical. As defined here, the pedagogical refers to the production of identity - the way we learn to see ourselves in relation to the world ...

Instead of focusing simply on the diverse practices of different ethnic/racial groups as in pluralist models of multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism focuses on how racism, sexism and class bias are economically, semiotically (pertaining to encoded and symbolic representations of particular groups), politically, educationally and institutionally produced. Aware of this dynamic, critical multicultural teachers become researchers of their students, the ways these cultural forces shape student behaviours and identities and places them in hierarchies of domination. Empowered by such understandings, teachers are able to help students to overcome these social barriers by engaging them in the exploration of different ways of reading the world, methods of resisting oppression and visions and progressive democratic communities (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:29).

Critical multiculturalism clearly shares ground with anti-racism in its attention to context and the production of prejudice and injustice. However in Kincheloe and Steinberg's approach, a Foucauldian approach to power is centrally important, with attention to the ways power has operated historically and contemporaneously to legitimate social categories and divisions as well to the way it 'shapes consciousness' (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:25). But at the same time, this is a problematic contrast. In the case of anti-racism and, to a lesser extent, multiculturalism, the purpose of the approaches is clear: eliminating specific prejudice. In critical multiculturalism's case, the emphasis on process and its postmodern stance and emphasis on a range of possible 'truths', denies the possibility of an explicit objective. Yet it contains within it, the assumption that its perspective will lead to social transformations and the rejection of modernist ways of engaging with difference (see Usher and Edwards 1994: 221). In this case, critical multiculturalism is either as directed and focused on a particular 'truth' as the other approaches - which raises questions about how it represents itself - or alternatively, is considerably weakened as an educational strategy directed toward eliminating prejudice. Thus, just as caution must be exercised in relation to multiculturalism and anti-racism, it must also be exercised in relation to critical multiculturalism. Nonetheless, its perspectives are reflected in some of the roles identified for the 'Third World' in the curriculum by the principal at Cardinal James School, who identified questioning as a key element:

I think a willingness to question. I think that's got to be a very important thing because they certainly would ... go along with a number of preconceptions about ignorance, dirt. I'll never forget a

wonderful person who is now working at a university, he was my head of modern languages at my last school. And we had a training day once and it was about multiculturalism and geography was being discussed and this man stood up and he said ‘I feel so sorry for you. You are so impoverished in your views. You would think that you’ve got to have colour television and this and that. You don’t realise the culture, the music and all of that’ (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

The principal points to both the questioning of existing ideas of difference and the different levels at which this questioning occurs. Within this quotation the construction of the ‘other’ is challenged by reconsidering the ‘reality’ of the ‘Third World’ as ignorant and dirty, re-evaluating the ‘self’ and critiquing the notion that our materialism constitutes an objective development. At the heart of the challenge to the construction of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ is a critique of evaluative assessments of difference:

I think valuing has got to be the sort of core of it all. And having children question their own sense of values, question their own preconceptions because an awful lot of them have the impression, for example again, that we in the west were the forerunners of everything that’s great (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

In this more radical position, a potential space is opened for constructions of the ‘Third World’ which challenge both the authority of ‘Western’ knowledge and



‘Western’ history. The notion that ‘Western’ scientific knowledge is universally applicable and will lead inevitably to development, regardless of context, has been increasingly challenged (e.g. Apfell-Marglin and Marglin 1996). Development as both discipline and activity has turned increasingly to valuing indigenous knowledge within the development process. Recent discursive analyses have pointed to the ways the ‘West’ claims to ‘know’ the ‘Third World’ (Said 1978; Escobar 1995). At the heart of these critiques is a challenge to the authority of Western notions of development; it questions the construction of the scientific ‘self’ and pre-scientific or pre-rational ‘other’. The potential for such a critique within the curriculum is suggested by Jennifer Whelan, who narrates a story which counters assumptions of the absence of technology and medicine of indigenous peoples:

I remember reading a story and it’s one I’ve told children a number of times about how a few years ago there was a plane crash in the Amazon, and one of the children on that plane wasn’t found. The father went seeking her out, eventually she was found with a tribe. She’d had horrendous injuries and they had put her right. She’d had a fractured skull, she’d had very severe cuts and all the rest of it and they’d used a very primitive technology. They’d set her skull with clay and sand and made their own kind of, never called a head-splint, I don’t know what you’d call it. Same for legs, they’d used sinews to sew up her leg and they’d done an absolutely splendid job. And so you might have some people who think that because people who live in jungles still swing on

the lianas, as they see it and the like, there is no technology, there's no value (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

In this example, difference premised on the absence of medicine, technology and knowledge in the 'Third World' is countered through the demonstration of appropriateness. The principal suggests it is important to make the 'other' present and not defined in terms of 'absences' (Said 1978:208). Consideration of the 'Third World' in terms of the knowledge it possesses challenges the fundamental bases of modernist constructions of 'Third World' difference. A universally valid notion of technological superiority is questioned. In relation to World Music the Principal suggests a reversal of the 'West' to 'Third World' information flow:

I mean, the study of world music I think is absolutely phenomenal. I'm very interested, we've got lots and lots of it at home and I think encouraging people to listen ... so I think music's got to be an area I haven't mentioned so far but if we encourage people to listen .... I mean I think of people like Jeffrey Oryema and Ali Farka Toure, all sorts of people, so much that's really good and entertaining, so much variety worth listening to. The third world has got so much to offer us that would enrich our lives, there's no doubt about it (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

In isolation this particular perspective can be seen as patronising; consideration of the 'Third World' as culturally valid but socio-economically and politically stagnant was

at the heart of Orientalism (Said 1978). However, linked to the wider perspectives articulated by the principal, it can also be seen as representing a ‘progressive and exploratory’ (Hutnyk 1997:109) form of engagement with difference and one which ties into the debates around globalisation and identity which point to the importance of changing cultural flows in the constitution of difference.

## *Conclusion*

Defined by its relation to difference, the ‘Third World’ can potentially play a range of roles in the school curriculum, informed by its attachment to wider educational discourses in the absence of a formal subject through which its communication is consolidated. Difference is a key concept in analysing the different roles of the ‘Third World’ and it has been suggested that in engaging with the question of difference in a variety of ways, the ‘Third World’ has the potential to occupy a range of epistemological positions. Which positions it occupies is informed by its engagement with existing discourses of difference in the curriculum, particularly multiculturalism. Analysis of the intersections between the ‘Third World’ and such discourses revealed the possibility of contradiction between constructions of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum. Thus, just as the different National Curriculum statutory requirements ‘transmit very different understandings of the national heritage, culture and identity’ (King 1993:8), so the communication of the ‘Third World’ may produce different notions of difference and hence, a range of conceptions of the ‘self’, the ‘world’ and the ‘other’. In this chapter we have focused on staff rhetoric on the role of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum as a useful means to understand how the communication of the ‘Third World’ is defined by staff and to develop a theoretical framework within



which it can be conceptualised. However, as staff indicated, the rhetoric does not necessarily reflect reality. The aim of the following chapters is to explore the discourses of 'Third World' difference that are articulated in each school, the forms they take, and why they, rather than other discourses, become curricular knowledge. To begin, we turn to an analysis and conceptualisation of the different constructions of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, starting with its communication through 'development'.

## CHAPTER 4

### **‘KNOWING’ THE ‘THIRD WORLD’: DIFFERENCE, ORDER AND DEVELOPMENT**

Development discourse wishes to present itself as a detached centre of rationality and intelligence. The relationship between West and non-West will be constructed in these terms. The West possesses the expertise, technology and management skills that the non West is lacking. This lack is what has caused the problems of the non-West. Questions of power and inequality, whether on the global level of international grain markets, state subsidies, and the arms trade, or the more local level of landholding, food supplies and income distribution, will nowhere be discussed (Mitchell 1995:156).

Development is central to the only statutory requirement to communicate the ‘Third World’ in the National Curriculum for England. As outlined in chapter one, the revised Orders of 1995 require that it is included in geography during the first three years of secondary school (11-14 Year olds): at Keystage Two, pupils must study a locality contrasting with that of the school’s, in ‘Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), South America or Central America (excluding the Caribbean)’ (DfE 1995:5); at Keystage

Three, pupils study development as one of the ‘Thematic studies’ as well localities in ‘significantly different states of development’ (DfE 1995:11). Thus, to begin the analysis and conceptualisation of which discourses of ‘Third World’ difference become reality in the curriculum, we start with the only statutory requirement that it is communicated.

In analysing the construction of the ‘Third World’ that is narrated through development, this chapter engages with and relates the classroom data to poststructural and postmodern analyses and critiques of development (eg. Escobar 1995,1995a; Crush 1995; Mitchell 1995; Sachs 1992), as well as Said’s exploration of the construction of the colonial ‘other’ in *Orientalism* (1978). The insights afforded by Escobar’s ‘discursive’ approach (Escobar 1995:vii), the ‘archaeology of knowledge’ stance of Sachs and his contributors (1992) and the ‘textual’ and ‘discursive’ explorations in Crush’s edited volume (Crush 1995:3) play an important role in the deconstruction and analysis of the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the classroom. In particular, they draw attention to the forms of knowledge, constructions of authority and objectivity and textual and discursive strategies of development. However, they differ fundamentally from this analysis in that whilst they are analyses of the practice of development, this chapter is a study of the representation of development. Or rather, following their conception of development as a representational, textual and discursive formation, the chapter is a study of the representation and reproduction of the representations of development.

In his introduction to *Encountering Development* (1995), Escobar comments:



Unlike Said's study of Orientalism, however, I pay closer attention to the deployment of the discourse [of development] through practices (Escobar 1995:11).

In its analysis of the 'story' (Roe 1991:288) of the 'Third World' that is constructed through development, this chapter is closer to Said's analysis of the texts of empire (1978). Since it is an analysis of 'text' or communication as the practice in itself, the chapter avoids the risk of 'political nihilism' (Schuurman 1993a:22) incumbent upon the endless deconstruction of the development experience. However, it also shares methodological ground with Escobar. By addressing the constructions of the 'Third World' and development in the classroom and the curriculum, it is exploring the relationship between development discourse and classroom practices; the discourse of development being communicated can be related to the discourses of learning and understanding within the classroom. Having introduced the data that form the centre of this chapter, section two focuses on the classroom construction of objectivity and the claim to 'truth' behind development. This is linked in section three to considering development's representation of the world, exploring geography's 'ordering' (Gregory 1994:37) of the world into binary oppositions (Hall 1997b:236) through the construction of the 'Third World' as an absence. The following section argues that, reproducing the relationship between development and quantification produced by institutions such as the World Bank (Williams 1995), IMF, and so on, this 'ordering' is informed and given scientific authority by the combination of teaching development with teaching statistical skills. The conclusion turns to a consideration of the

relationship between the construction of the ‘Third World’ through development, and debates around modern and postmodern understandings of difference. It argues that in reproducing development’s representations, the theory of development that is implicitly communicated is thoroughly modernist, having implications for its relationship to other narratives within the school, for understanding the factors informing its communication and for its reinforcement of the National Curriculum’s constructions of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’.

### *Case Study: ‘World Development’ at Cardinal James School*

The teaching of units on ‘World Development’ and ‘Population’ in the geography department at Cardinal James School form the centre of this chapter. The focus on Cardinal James School was informed by a number of factors. Firstly, it is intended that this reflects the schools’ identification of what they defined as the foci of their communication of the ‘Third World’; whilst Cardinal James School emphasised development and charity (see chapters 3 and 5), Meadows School emphasised multiculturalism. In addition, and as is explored in chapter 7, the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the geography department at Meadows School was identified as very problematic by senior staff. Observation of lessons at Meadows School confirmed this, with a textbook from 1969 (Crawford 1969) being used in portraying the Maasai as ‘primitive’, constructing the ‘Third World’ in a very ethnocentric, patronising and discriminatory way. These data have not been used in this chapter since they represent an extreme representation of ‘Third World’ difference. Since the senior staff concerned with it had already identified it as problematic, it was decided that the more important and relevant issue was how such teaching is dealt with within

the school, and this is tackled in chapter 7. On the other hand, the textbook series used by staff at Cardinal James School - *Key Geography* by Waugh and Bushell (1992, 1992a)- was adopted by 50% of secondary schools upon the introduction of the National Curriculum (Lambert 1994:66). In addition, the series has been strongly criticised (Hopkin 1994; Lambert 1994) for its 'stereotyped accounts of traditional Maasai and Kikuyu rural life in Kenya', the images it uses - 'half the images of developing countries in *Key Geography* Book 1 are of flooding in Bangladesh' - and the limited degree to which pupils are able to 'interpret and engage with the text and images' (Hopkin 1994:76-96). Given that existing research has addressed stereotyping in geography textbooks (see also, Ahier 1988:144-173; Hicks 1981), this is not explored in more detail here. Further, the chapter does not seek to offer an in-depth analysis of the influence of the textbook on the lessons, but to focus on the broader narrative that is communicated in the classroom (although some further conclusions on the texts may be drawn from the following analysis). Since senior staff at Cardinal James School had not raised any questions around the construction of the 'Third World' in its geography department, the chapter addresses constructions of the 'Third World' that are not widely perceived as contentious from within the school and thus, are less likely to be identified as problematic.

Four groups of Year Nine (13-14 year old) pupils (9a,b,c, and d) studying geography at Key Stage Three were observed being taught by members of the geography department staff at Cardinal James School. These data were supported by interviews with the teachers. Year 9 was chosen since it was identified by staff as the one in which the most detailed treatment of development took place:



I mean Egypt tends to be, has been in year 8 hasn't it? Development's been in year 9. So at least you're giving them an easy lead in. You're giving them some ideas of what and how people live in a developing country before perhaps you get to a more in depth approach that you do in year 9 (Interview, Sue Barton, Geography Teacher, Cardinal James School).

Within those lessons, the focus was on teaching 'World Development' and in addition, 'Population' to 9a and 9b. However these do not correspond precisely to the Geography National Curriculum's structuring of knowledge of the 'Third World' since this centres around a range of themes and topics. The Thematic study, 'Development' requires that pupils are taught,

- a**        about ways of identifying differences in development
- b**        about differences in development and their effect on the quality  
            of life of different groups of people
- c**        how the interdependence of countries influences development

(DfE 1995:13)

At the same time, the 'Third World' is a required element of the Geography Orders through study of two countries in 'significantly different states of development' (DfE 1995: p.11). Thus, the teaching of 'Development' overlapped with this and other requirements, since the 'Themes' 'may be taught separately, in combination with

other themes, or as part of the studies of places' (DfE 1995:11). Consequently, whilst centred around development, the lessons observed also covered elements of Key Stage Three's 'Geographical Skills' requirement, the requirement to study 'Places' in 'significantly different states of development' and the 'Thematic Studies' of 'Economic Activities' and 'Population' (DfE 1995:13); the 'Third World' in the geography curriculum at Cardinal James School was not a discrete topic.

The geography department at Cardinal James School was split across the two sites of the school and had three full-time members of staff: Anne Church, the head of department and head of year 8; Sue Barton, head of the lower site; Richard Holmes. All three staff taught at both sites but Sue Barton's headship of the lower site meant that her teaching was concentrated at that site and the majority of Anne and Richard's took place at the upper site. In addition, the department supported four PGCE students from two different institutions during the research period (a school year) and these also participated in teaching at both sites. Due to the timing of their lessons and willingness to participate in the research, Anne Church and Sue Barton formed the focus of the research in the department, complemented by the latter's PGCE student, Claire Stafford.

Anne Church agreed to the observation of her lessons in the Autumn term of 1995, following the receipt of the initial access letter, forwarded from the principal, and a meeting in the summer term of the previous school year (see chapter 2). During the first term of research in the school and the geography department (Autumn term, 1995), permission was sought to observe Sue Barton's and Richard Holmes' lessons.

This was not achieved with respect to the latter (see chapter 2) but Sue Barton agreed to be observed during the spring term. Whilst the research focus shifted from Anne Church to Sue Barton, the same topics were observed consecutively. Insufficient texts to tackle a topic with the whole year group meant that these topics were covered by Anne Church with 9a and 9b in the Autumn term and by Sue Barton and Claire Stafford with 9c and 9d in the Spring term.

### *'Knowing' and 'seeing' the 'Third World'*

The privileging of 'vision' in 'Western' modernity (Gregory 1994:64) has played an important role in the construction of 'knowledge' of the 'Third World' 'other'. Said speaks of 'semiotical power' when describing the strength of Said's communication of the 'Orient' to his students through a small set of powerful examples' (Said 1978:125). Referring to contemporary media images, Escobar asserts the importance of examining development

... in relation to the modern experiences of knowing, seeing, counting, economizing and the like (Escobar 1995:12).

This is particularly important in the context of this chapter due to the emphasis on knowledge and depiction of 'facts'. The presentation of the 'world as exhibition' (Gregory 1994:70) reflects adherence to the view that 'to see is to know', as the motto attached to the anthropology exhibits of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 proclaimed (Rydell 1984:44). The construction of the 'Third World' as 'developing' or 'underdeveloped' is premised on an order of knowledge' (Escobar 1995:11) which



makes it seem ‘impossible to conceptualise reality in other terms’ (Escobar 1995:5). The conception of knowledge and ‘truth’ reflected in the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the geography department at Cardinal James School shows how development discourse’s production of permissible modes of ‘being’ and ‘thinking’ and its ‘disqualification’ of others (Escobar 1995:5; see also Hall 1997a:49) is reproduced in the classroom. In particular, it shows the communication of development is contingent upon a notion of ‘knowing’ and ‘seeing’ which informs a starkly modernist construction of the ‘Third World’, with its related assumptions about progress, rationality and difference.

Development and different states of development are seen by the staff as uncontested and objective realities (Escobar 1995:5); pupil ‘awareness’ refers to expanding their knowledge of what is ‘out there’. This is revealed by the staff’s discussion of the political dimensions to their communication of the ‘Third World’. Although Sue Barton and Anne Church differed in their conceptions of the relationship of communicating the ‘Third World’ and politics, they both defined their approach as avoiding politics. Mirroring the dominant discourse of development described by Mitchell at the start of the chapter,

[q]uestions of power and inequality ... will nowhere be discussed  
(Mitchell 1995:156).

Thus, as Sue Barton put it:

Well why I don't know why it's [the 'Third World's] contentious at Key Stage three because you can put it very simply can't you and you can say 'this is what we did a hundred, two hundred years ago, they were our colonies, we had so-called conquered them and we took resources that we needed from them and we used them for ourselves'. I mean I don't bring the word political into that. That's just a matter of history and that's what we did. And that helped us build up our own industrial base ... I mean obviously there's a limit to how complicated you can get (Interview, Sue Barton).

Anne Church also claims to avoid politics and to concentrate on establishing 'facts' and, following the themes indicated in the preceding section, uses this theme to differentiate geography from theology:

[I] Don't want to get onto into, issues, particularly race and apartheid and those sort of things ... I won't fight shy of them I will say look we can discuss this [at] a different time. Try and stick with ... whatever it is we're doing ... Because otherwise it just ends up as ... an argument on principles and this sort of thing. That isn't what I'm trying to get across - trying to get some more concrete ideas that then other people can join in to the conversation then later on because they've got more understanding of the situation that led to whatever it is we're talking about, whether it's war, whether it's apartheid, whether it's a harsh political type regime, whatever it is. The tribal differences ... you've got

to have the background information first. Basic information before you can start to formulate opinion ... some of them have got these opinions but they've come from home. It's whatever mum or dad or what they've said. Now all of that side of it is talked about in theology a lot. And again it's this tolerance thing (Interview, Anne Church).

Despite differences in terms of either avoiding politics or not seeing the issues as political, both Anne Church and Sue Barton distance their communication of the 'Third World' from politics. By defining their teaching in terms of 'concrete ideas' and explanation in terms of a 'matter of history' their communication of the 'Third World' is not seen as a construction of the world or as reflecting a particular ideological perspective. Interdependent with this, there are explicit tensions around the relations between the communication of the 'Third World' in geography and more critical constructions:

I think it [teaching the 'Third World'] also helps here at home. Not that it's one the main things, as far as the geography's concerned, but of course it helps them, with, again, the tolerance of other people. Where they are in mixed communities and they can begin to understand just a little bit [high pitch to emphasise how little] about other people's background and way of life. Just a little bit. I don't think it helps very much but it does help a bit. But it really it's this awareness of the world and of the way it functions and the way people function with one another, and countries, the way they are (Interview, Anne Church).



The stark modernism and ethnocentrism of geography's 'story' does not sit easily with engendering tolerance, and this is reflected in the geography staff's emphasis, in their definition of the method and purpose of geography's 'story', on awareness and knowledge of the systemic and structural functioning of the world as opposed to engendering the attitude and practice of tolerance. Although Anne Church sees the two aims as compatible, the reasons for and method of their narration are differentiated. Engaging with and critiquing difference is not a priority; the staff are explicit about the difference between geography's communication of the 'Third World' and its communication in, for example, theology. The 'Third World' and unequal states of development are seen as facts rather than opinions and thus, 'knowing' or 'seeing' them are treated unproblematically; difference is a fact. This was reinforced by the manner in which these were communicated. The majority of classroom time is devoted to establishing 'facts' rather than discussion. Exercises and homework primarily centred on providing the right answers to questions. Like 'School A' in Roberts' study of different schools' interpretation of the Geography National Curriculum, the geography curriculum at Cardinal James was 'content-rich' (Roberts 1995:191):

There was widespread use of the black board and textbooks to convey authoritative knowledge. The students' role in the lessons was to recall the previous lesson and to do 'exercises' to consolidate what had been taught in the lesson (Roberts 1995:192).

For example, the following is a worksheet used by Claire Stafford, requiring pupils to fill in the blanks with the correct words to describe the characteristics of poor, rich and intermediate countries:

1. Explain the meaning of the term employment structure?
2. Copy and complete the following sentences:
  - a) Poor countries have \_\_\_\_\_ living standards. Most of their labour force work in \_\_\_\_\_ industries like \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
  - b) Countries beginning to develop have many \_\_\_\_\_. Most people work in \_\_\_\_\_ industries.
  - c) Rich countries or \_\_\_\_\_ countries have \_\_\_\_\_ living standards. Most of their labour force work in \_\_\_\_\_ industries, like \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.  
(mining, primary, education, factories, low, banking, secondary, high, tertiary, farming, developed)

Pupils were also often required to copy from their books rather than put their ideas in their own words (Fieldnote 12.12.95). Thus, Anne Church's commitment to getting them

to ask questions, 'why does this happen?' and to think, not just accept things as they are (Interview, Anne Church),

does not sit easily with the method of teaching which requires pupils to establish facts as knowledge and avoids opinion. The staff's claim that one can see that people are

less developed and that thus, the pupils already ‘know’ about aspects of development reinforces this and has parallels with the perception in the geography department at Meadows School that one can ‘see’ the primitiveness of the Maasai in their ‘lack of clothes’ (Fieldnote 1.2.96).

In building upon travel experience and pupils’ existing knowledge, indicators and measures of development are treated unproblematically; what is ‘seen’ is treated as giving privileged and authoritative ‘knowledge’ of difference. The perspective and viewpoint of the ‘seeing’ - ‘those doing the depicting’ (Hobart 1993:2) - is privileged and accepted unquestioningly. Both teachers indicate that the ‘developing’ countries that they choose to study are informed by their travel experiences:

We use Kenya because of the books and because I’ve been there. I also pick on India. I often talk about Tunisia, ‘coz that’s different.  
(Interview, Anne Church)

Referring to the different approaches taken by the staff, Sue Barton makes the same point and is more explicit about the specific contribution that travel experience offers:

Well I saw women washing in the Nile and I went on a felucca down the Nile. But mainly I mean you go to Egypt you’re looking at the tombs and things. You can’t help noticing how people live, the crowded nature of the cities. The way human life seems quite expendable really  
(Interview, Sue Barton).



Thus, ‘seeing’ is equated with ‘knowing’. Sue Barton perceives having seen something in reality as offering greater authenticity and certainty: because Anne has been to India she ‘knows’ about it; Sue has seen ‘underdevelopment’ in the women washing in the Nile and has seen overpopulation in the crowded cities. Thus, they “‘conquer’ truth”, as Driver puts it borrowing from Conrad, by ‘establishing a particular reading of the landscape’ (Driver 1996:348). ‘Seeing’ the reality of being ‘developing’ is thus perceived as making the staff better equipped to teach about development; ‘seeing is believing’. Similarly, utilising what pupils already ‘know’ is seen as a means to introduce them to development. As Sue Barton put it:

I try and explain it [development] in the simplest terms I can that everyone will understand by first of all putting it down at their level. By referring it to them. Everybody understands, and sorry to go back on this, televisions, everybody understands motor car ownership, everybody understands sitting in school and getting educated, everybody understands being able to go to hospital or see a doctor. So it’s putting it firmly in terms of knowledge that they can understand and that they have experience of. And then build it from there (Interview, Sue Barton).

The following fieldnote indicates the classroom reality of starting from what pupils understand and is from Sue Barton’s introductory lesson on development:

SB     How many of you have...

One car?

A good house or flat?

Running water?

Toilet?

Some pupils guffaw and imply they're not carrying on with that as it's silly.

SB     I'm not kidding.

Furniture?

Video machine?

TV?

Washing machine?

Cooker?

Microwave?

Dishwasher?

A holiday most years?

New clothes fairly often in the year?

Pupils raise their hands in response to each question. I am unable to record how many for each but most indicated having the above and often added comments such as "we've got 2". On holidays, about two thirds raised their hands.

SB      How many of you take all that for granted?

The lads on the back row - and others - laugh at this.

Sue Barton then asks them how they have all this.

Pupils   Money

SB      From who?

Pupils   Parents

...

SB      Your standard of living is pretty good and I didn't even mention  
a computer... If you compare with people living in other  
countries...see something very different indeed.

(Fieldnote 29.1.96)

In this instance, 'knowing' that they (the pupils) have various consumer items or that they go on holiday is used to introduce them to the idea of development. However, neither this knowledge or 'understanding', in Sue Barton's terms, nor the 'seeing' referred to above, is neutral. That is, they take their meaning from the framework of 'developed' versus 'developing' countries which generalises and essentialises the 'Third World' as a series of absences. What are 'seen' or 'known' are signifiers; development is the signified (Hall 1997a:31). Thus, women washing in the Nile takes meaning from being located within this framework and becomes a signifier of development. 'Knowing' that development consists of the lifestyle that she is familiar



with, the differences Sue Barton chooses to 'see' are informed by their apparent confirmation of the difference between the 'developed' and 'developing' world; for example, the absence of a washing machine - something taken-for-granted by many in the UK - is taken as an indicator of 'developing' status. Thus, the image appears 'natural', hiding the conceptual framework behind its meaning (Mitchell 1995:130; Escobar 1995:156; Hall 1997a:44; Lidchi 1997:197; Said 1978:22,129). In seeking to introduce this dichotomy of presences and absences, Sue Barton chooses signifiers of difference that fit a framework in which certain material possessions indicate development.

Whilst the staff define their communication of the 'Third World' as the depiction of facts which can be seen or which are 'knowable', the 'developed' versus 'developing' countries framework within which it is located is not neutral and objective but reflects a particular perspective on the world which privileges particular ways of 'knowing', and in particular, the paradigms used by the 'West' to define the 'world', with themselves at the centre:

Knowledge ... wields power by directing people's attention; it carves out and highlights a certain reality, casting into oblivion other ways of relating to the world around us (Sachs 1992a:5).

For this reason, it contradicts a pluralist notion of tolerance which embraces and is inclusive of a variety of perspectives (Bauman 1992:xi). The above emphasis on 'seeing' and 'knowing' can be seen as reflecting strategies to improve the

communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. For example, relating the teaching to what pupils are familiar with reflects a way of 'tapping the consciousness' of the pupils (Interview, Sue Barton) and represents a strategy of introducing pupils to a general idea that the 'Third World' lacks some of the items that we possess. Drawing on what one has 'seen' in the 'Third World' may enhance the plausibility of the 'story' being told. But the conceptions of knowledge and difference that have been explored are fundamental to geography's communication of the 'Third World' and are not simply reflective of particular classroom strategies. Despite the use of more technical language and geographical concepts, geography's communication of the world is premised on the selection of particular signifiers of difference which construct the 'Third World' as an absence and order the world in terms of opposing halves (for a brief history of this see, for example, Corbridge 1990). We now turn to identifying the signifiers that are central to the construction of this dichotomy, considering, in particular, the importance of space and the imagination in that construction.

### *Ordering the world: the role of binary oppositions*

At the heart of the communication of the 'Third World' in the geography department at Cardinal James School was the 'ordering' of the world into two distinct halves. By focusing on depicting the difference (and painting the world as a picture (Escobar 1995:56)) between the two halves, with the characteristics of the 'West' being privileged, the 'Third World' is again defined by absences and deficiencies. As will be explored in the final section of this chapter, development emerges as meaning becoming like 'developed' countries. This section is divided into two, the first part

demonstrating the ways the ‘Third World’ is defined in terms of absences and deficiencies, the second showing the importance of space and imagery in defining this ordering as an objective representation of reality.

To communicate ‘World Development’ the staff focused on representing the difference between developed and developing countries, selecting characteristics of countries as signifying their ‘developed’ or ‘developing’ status. These states are constructed as absolute and internally undifferentiated opposites (Esteva 1992:7). The presence of particular characteristics indicates development, their absence indicates ‘underdevelopment’. However, this is not the same as development’s construction of countries’ status, but rather, reflects the adoption of development’s existing constructions. The ‘developed’/‘developing’ framework is already in existence and so, characteristics of countries deemed ‘developed’ are taken as the starting point, as the following quotation from Anne Church’s introduction to development to 9a shows:

We’re going to look at a topic called development. You will have come across this, done it in the past, heard of it. What do we mean by a country being developed? (Fieldnote 31.10.95)

Characteristics of ‘developed’ countries become signifiers of development, with the class identifying technology, trade, industry and wealth as signifying being ‘developed’. The following two lists of statements represent the ‘correct’ ordering of a set of characteristics provided in a school textbook, but in a random pattern, which



pupils were required to sort under the headings, ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries:

Developed	Developing
Rich countries	Poor countries
The North	The South
Europe, North America and Australasia	Africa, South America and SE Asia
Japan, USA and UK	Kenya and Egypt
High GDP	Low GDP
A lot of trade	Little trade
Slow population growth	Rapid population growth
Good education and health care	Poor education and health care
Low birth and death rates	High birth and death rates
Low infant mortality	High infant mortality
High literacy rate	Low literacy rate

(Waugh & Bushell 1992:87)

Through this, the ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries are defined as opposites (Crush 1995a:14) - it is not possible to have both high and low literacy rates - with ‘developing’ countries defined as entirely negative. A second example, from a lesson with Sue Barton and 9c on Population, reveals how the ‘self’ in the form of the EU is

taken as a starting point, with the 'other' as India defined in terms of its negative difference. In the exchanges between staff and pupils, the EU was defined as having industries which 'provide jobs and wealth', 'efficient farming' and 'enough [food] to go round' as result of 'land and machinery' and 'surely technology', with 'extra food and other needs brought in using money from industry'. India, on the other hand, is described as having 'low living standards and low quality of life', being 'crowded', having 'rapid population growth due to failure of birth control', 'poor farming methods', 'no technology' and 'not enough industry providing jobs to make any improvements' (Fieldnote 12.2.96). Communicating the general theme of 'developed' countries as places of 'plenty' and 'developing' countries as places of scarcity exaggerates and generalises the degree of 'absence' ascribed to the 'Third World'. For example, whilst Anne Church would not believe that Tanzanians have no means of sustenance, in discussing the migration resulting from the recent Rwandan genocide with 9a, she nonetheless commented that,

people went to Tanzania but that was a very poor country anyway plus there's no food - and disease. Almost worse off than if they'd stayed (Fieldnote 3.10.95).

The depiction of the world centred on its division into two, a world of scarcity and a world of plenty. The aim now is to explore this overall trend, looking at the binary ordering of the world and the different levels at which this took place. After consideration of the divisions of industrial/agricultural, urban/rural, technological/without technology, dynamic/static, rational/irrational and with a

balanced population as opposed to being overpopulated, the chapter considers the different roles of the spatial imagination, technical language and metaphor in constructing and communicating these oppositions.

As was implicit in the above quotations on production structure, an important factor in teaching ‘World Development’ was the division of the world along the lines of agricultural versus industrial and urban versus rural, linked to the factor of technology. Thus, the ‘Third World’ is homogenised as agricultural and rural, whilst the ‘developed’ world is constructed as urban and industrial. This can be seen in one of Sue Barton’s lessons with 9d in which India was being compared to the UK:

SB      What do they [Indians] do for a living?

Pupil   All of them farm

SB      There aren’t many factories. Why do they have big families?

Pupil   Work on the land

SB      Good. Also against people’s religion for contraception

(Fieldnote 26.2.96).

In this, India is essentialised; if everyone works on the land then India cannot have business, cities and so on. In contrast to India where not only do people work on the land but farming is, in Sue Barton’s terms ‘inefficient’ (Fieldnote 12.2.96), Anne Church described the UK to 9a in the following manner:



This country has good soil and an excellent farming system. Therefore people live in cities as you only need a few people to work the land. It's a problem with some big world cities as they're built on good land (Fieldnote 17.10.95).

Consequently, the 'developed' world is also shown to have agriculture. But this is, in a sense, linked to industry because, as Sue Barton put it to 9c, it is 'efficient' due to 'technology' and 'machinery' (Fieldnote 12.2.96). Thus, the ordering of the world into urban and rural is more particularly one in which being 'rural' is defined by the numbers of people engaged in rural activities, which, if it is a considerable number, is deemed inefficient, distancing the 'self' from signifiers of being 'developing'. This is linked to a technocentrism which not only informs this characterisation but is in itself an 'ordering' of the world:

With the age of development, science and technology took over the leading role altogether. They were regarded as the reason for the superiority of the North and the guarantee of the promise of development (Ullrich 1992:275).

One of Anne Church's lessons with 9a, illustrates this perception:

The reasons say, Ghana, doesn't make chocolate ... Ghana's a bit hot. You'd need to refrigerate the process from start to finish. A lot [of countries] don't have the technology, know-how, industry. It's

beginning now. In some places where they have iron ore, they turn it into steel there - make it into girders. But they sell it to here and we make into smaller things. We've got the technology (Fieldnote 12.12.95).

Technology is defined according to whether it contributes to forms of production which signify being 'developed'. Thus, it is seen as a universal 'tool' rather than in relation to context (for example see Escobar 1995:4; Alvares 1992:219; Mitchell 1995:140; Adas 1989:413). Continuing the line outlined in Adas' *Machines as the Measure of Men* (1989) in which he explores the role of technology in colonial classification of 'other' peoples, staff use the lack of technology to indicate levels of development. As Sue Barton put it to 9d, India is overpopulated

... because of their religion and because of their lack of technology ...  
(Fieldnote 12.2.96).

The ordering of the world into rural and urban or agricultural and industrial, technological or not technological was reinforced by the images used in the textbook. Accompanying 'comments' from families in Bangladesh and Canada, were pictures of a paddy field and a shopping mall respectively (Waugh and Bushell 1992a). Implicit in this is an explanatory element. Technology, industrialisation and urbanisation not only order the world, but they explain the lack or presence of development. For example, technology facilitates development or, as Sue Barton explained to 9d, enables countries to 'move up the scale a bit' (Fieldnote 5.3.96). Thus, those countries

without ‘technology’ are unable to do this; they remain at the same point. Consequently, ‘movement’ or the lack of it plays a role in ordering the world.

The division of the world into static/dynamic or traditional and modern areas has considerable legacy with perhaps the most explicit and recent example being Rostow’s *Stages of Economic Growth* (1960). Reference is frequently made in the media to areas of the world or peoples living in the ‘Iron Age’ or ‘untouched by progress’. Although Anne Church’s assertion to pupils in 9a that ‘Third World’ countries are ‘developing but we’re developing more’ (Fieldnote 5.12.95) suggests this division is avoided, this was not evident in one of Sue Barton’s lessons:

SB      Pre 1790, 90% worked in primary sector. Why?

Pupil   Now everything more developed

...

SB      What did we rely on pre 1750?

Pupil   Farming

Pupil   Working on the land

SB      Why did it all change? What allowed it to switch?

Pupil   Technology

Things were made

SB      What’s that time called?

Pupil   Industrial revolution



SB Raw materials that were being discovered were being used to produce other goods. Housed them in factories. What were needed?’

Pupil Workers

SB What do they need?’

Pupils Houses

SB Towns and cities grew as the result of development of industry. People left the land and moved to where the jobs were. Machines were used on the land to make farming easier. Obviously, technology progressed to such an extent that secondary [industry] took over.

(Fieldnote 5.3.96)

Reiterating the importance of technology, Sue Barton constructs the UK in 1790 in the way that the contemporary ‘Third World’ is constructed: rural, agricultural and lacking technology. Thus, the implication is that the ‘Third World’ has not changed and we have, due to technology and the Industrial Revolution. This is made more explicit in one of Anne Church’s lessons with 9a:

AC In Britain a great deal of change has taken place ... life was much more simple [in 1790] than it is today in this country ... [they] didn’t work in factories as they didn’t really exist .. the majority lived own simple style of life. By 1890 there was massive change ... manufacturing had taken hold. Instead of

living on the land people worked in the factory and so they bought food from the shops. Thus tertiary went up. By 1990 - primary not changed much - 3% though I'd question the 1890 figure. Secondary has dropped to 32%. 65% are in tertiary. Why don't we need so many people in factories?

Pupil Machines

(Fieldnote 21.11.95)

To note that change has taken place in Britain reflects the belief that it has not done so in the 'Third World'. The 'Third World' is conceptualised as static in contrast to the UK's dynamism (Crush 1995a:9), despite the UK's decline in the post-colonial era, particularly with respect to industry - the very signifier of development identified as of key importance. The representation also raises questions about rationality and agency in achieving progress. If development is an objective and 'knowable' reality, why have 'developing' countries not developed? Anne Church explains this to a class by asking:

AC Which country has tried hard and developed for itself?

Pupil Japan

AC Japan was like the Third World. Different culture. Dragged themselves up. Finding things out. Copying. They don't necessarily have better ideas but they're good at copying. But once they start copying, they make it better and smaller. Others don't have the expertise (Fieldnote 5.12.95).

By implication, the other countries of the ‘Third World’ did not ‘try hard’. It is also implied that the ‘West’ is the originator of knowledge and ideas; as Anne Church commented, ‘we had the ideas to start off’ (Fieldnote 5.12.95). That countries have not ‘developed’ is linked to the idea that the rationality progress requires is constrained. The notion that, because we ‘got there first’, we ‘know’ development and what, objectively, is the best path toward it, is fundamental to ‘Western’ interventions in domestic development in the ‘Third World. This was shown in one of Anne Church’s lessons with 9a:

AC     Why can’t they produce their own manufactured goods -  
they’ve got the resources, people, etc.?

Pupil   They can’t afford the technology

AC     They haven’t got the know-how. Why?

Pupil   We’re intelligent [said flippantly]

AC     Nothing to do with intelligence. Haven’t got the money. Where  
did industry start?

Pupil   Here

AC     If you start something going you are at an advantage. Many  
other countries had schools ... we started developing industry  
(Fieldnote 5.12.95).

More recently, there has been a cautious approach to such claims, in recognition of the colonial assumptions of the ‘we know best’ approach, reflected in the increase in



support for community led small-scale development projects (for example see Wignaraja 1993; Rahman 1993; Mushakozi 1993:xiv; Escobar 1995:215). Sue Barton does explain to 9d that England was able to sell woven silk back to India at inflated prices because India ‘didn’t have the know-how or the machinery’ but that ‘of course, they do now’ (Fieldnote 5.3.96). However, there is a sense in which the ‘Third World’ is constructed as constrained by “traditions”, “obstacles” and “irrationalities” (Escobar 1992:135). Sue Barton comments on overpopulation in the ‘Third World’ to 9d using India:

In India, for example, religion is important - it’s against the practice of contraception. Like Catholicism where it is, indeed, in theory, wrong to practice birth control (Fieldnote 12.2.96).

India does not receive the qualification that Hinduism, for example, ‘in theory’ prohibits contraception. Thus, the religion of the ‘other’ is rigid and authoritarian compared to the implied liberal attitude of Catholicism. At a different point in the same lesson, Sue Barton comments:

SB      Why do they have big families?

Pupil    Work on the land

SB      Good. Also against people’s religion for contraception.

(Fieldnote 26.2.96)

Linked to this and reading from the textbook, Sue Barton also includes machismo and village status as behind the lack of contraception (Waugh and Bushell 1992), thus representing Indians as being constrained from making the rational choice of contraception by religious and cultural mores. Although there is not a stark division between people who know and who do not know, the communication of the 'Third World' nonetheless follows the dichotomy of traditional versus modern, with a comparable role ascribed to religion as a constraint upon progress. The final part of this consideration of the binary ordering of the world turns to a fuller consideration of the orderings communicated through teaching 'Population'.

The communication of population in combination with development resulted in a set of orderings centred on issues of control, space and resources. Since Malthus, population has played an important role in discussions of development (Duden 1992; Williams 1995). The aim here is to explore the orderings that resulted from its communication and in particular, on the role of empathy in constructing that order. Population acts as an important signifier of the 'developed' or 'developing' status of countries in the lessons on 'World Development'. The 'Third World' is represented in terms of insufficient (absent) resources for its populations. Anne Church defined overpopulation to 9b in the following way:

Overpopulation - it happens in countries. Have to be careful about what we mean. Lots of countries are crowded. e.g. UK. But the thing is, we can manage to live together happily because we have enough food, jobs, roads - they're all set up. There's the same sort of crowding in India and

Bangladesh - same sort of numbers and amount of space. But not enough of other things to go around. Certainly not enough schools and hospitals (Fieldnote 14.1195).

Similarly, Sue Barton described India to 9d as having 'lots of people, relatively small landspace' (Fieldnote 12.2.96). That the issue is addressed in terms of people per area rather than in terms of resource use per person is fundamentally important to the construction of the population 'problem' (Bondestam 1982). If the population issue centres on resource use then, in terms of use per person, the United States is far more of a 'problem' than India. The adoption of this perspective in the classroom reflects the overall tendency to construct the 'Third World' in terms of absences - by what it is not - and this is reinforced by the teaching methods used. Both teachers used empathy as a means to communicate overpopulation. The following is an extract from the same lesson with 9d:

SB I want to look to move on to the problem of overpopulation. Too many people put awful strain on resources inevitably. Look at this classroom. Know the difference between this and other classrooms. What would happen to quality of life if [we] brought in an extra 50 people?

Pupils Smell

Claustrophobic

Teaching not as good

Tables and chairs might get broken (Fieldnote 12.2.96).



Anne Church took a similar approach but with greater emphasis on experience:

The group are told without explanation to move into the next door room, which is smaller, and to take their chairs and books with them. As they go in and arrange themselves around the fewer desks she says that they have to find a surface to lean on. She then instructs them to open their textbooks and sheets on the tables in front of them. [The] Situation is particularly difficult where there are pupils on both sides of single tables. Books are overlapping and covering other people's. Up to this point no questions have been raised despite the difficulty in doing these things. Anne then asks them what the problems would be if they were timetabled for here?

Pupil    Overpopulation

AC laughs and says yes but that's not enough. She says she has had to teach with a lot of people here and asks what the problems might be.

Pupil                Food.

AC says "Don't be silly". She gives the example of not being able to write on the board. She then notes - without complaint - that they are talking to each other. She asks why and receives the answer that it's because they're closer.

AC says that "conditions deteriorate not because the tables and walls etc. drop to bits but because we're pressurising what we've got. There are too many of us".

AC then notes how in contrast to a group of girls' earlier complaint that it was cold, it is now warmer - someone retorts that it still is - and how it is becoming stuffy.

AC "Air is a resource. Tables and chairs are a resource." She notes how feet are tapping - "you're getting on each other's nerves". She then reads on population from the textbook: "Overpopulation is when the resources of an area cannot support the population living there" (Fieldnote 14.11.95).

By using the example of a classroom, the issues of resource scarcity are highlighted and a starkly Orientalist construction of the 'self and the 'other' is offered. In comparing the crowded classroom to an overpopulated 'Third World', the latter is constructed as uncomfortable, difficult to work in, hot and with insufficient resources. The 'self' is then constructed as the opposite, despite insufficient desks and textbooks and lower-site classrooms suffering from considerable damp with peeling paint and inadequate heating.

The construction of the 'Third World' 'other' through overpopulation shares common ground with a number of stereotypes of the 'Third World. The experience of overcrowding and discomfort - of too many people and having to 'live on top of each other' - links to a popular stereotype of the 'Third World' as 'teeming masses' needing to be controlled and reduced (Escobar 1995:210; Mitchell 1995:231; Slater 1993:419). A division of the world along the lines of order and disorder, and controlled and uncontrolled, is presented, linking to the notion that there has been, in

Sue Barton's phrase to 9d, 'failure of birth control' (Fieldnote 12.2.96); 'Third World' overpopulation is constructed as a failure to control its procreation, a theme with some precedence in constructions of black sexual appetite (Nederveen Pieterse 1992; Hall 1997b:266) and linked to representation of the 'Third World' as hot, and in the case of the classroom, with people in close proximity to teach other. At the same time as this critique of the failure to control populations, China's birth control methods are portrayed as barbaric. Speaking of China's attempt to 'to stop people starving' Anne Church described its one child policy to 9b as 'very very severe' (Fieldnote 14.1995). Sue Barton, teaching 9d, comments on the same policy:

SB      What has developed as a result of that. We now have female  
infanticide - what's that?

Pupil   Killing off female babies

...

SB      What are they macho about in China? They're producing lots of  
little macho Hitler type characters.

Pupil   They haven't got the right to do that

SB agrees

Pupil   Why don't other countries do something?

SB      We have tried. But they basically say it's none of our business -  
look at Tiannanmen - they don't want to know (Fieldnote  
26.2.96).



Thus, where control is exercised, it is condemned, constructing the ‘self’ as liberal condemner of barbarity. This is a somewhat paradoxical position, since the liberal argument that the Chinese approach results in inhumane practices, does not sit easily with a perspective which constructs population in the ‘Third World’ as a problem but which ignores resource use per head in the ‘West’. This is itself ironic, considering the starting point of the lessons on development emphasised material possession as signifying difference and development in the ‘West’, reinforcing the evidence of the processes of selection behind the representations of the ‘Third World’. Finally, the lack of control of the ‘Third World’ empowers the ‘West’. As Anne Church comments to 9a:

OK. Poor countries. How do they cope? One of the ways is richer countries helping them (Fieldnote 12.12.95).

Allied to the emphasis on charity throughout the school, the ‘self’ is constructed as coping and enabling the ‘Third World’ to cope. Without the ‘West’, it is implied that the ‘Third World’ would descend into chaos, again constructing the ‘West’ as benevolent. In terms of the ‘story’ that is told, the communication of the ‘Third World’ through population is modernist in character, reinforcing the stark division of the world into two undifferentiated halves. The manner of its communication also encapsulates the different ways in which the story of the ‘Third World’ is constructed in the classroom as a whole:

For all their pedantry and pretension, the texts of development are of necessity, also written in a representational language - a language of metaphor, image, allusion, fantasy and rhetoric (Crush 1995a:4).

In combining and blurring spatial orderings of the world, metaphors of difference, and technical descriptions and measurements of that difference, the starkness of the difference between the 'developed' and 'developing' world is not only enhanced but it is made to seem objective and scientific (Lidchi 1997:196). Taking population as the starting point, as Sue Barton had seen underdevelopment in women doing their washing in the Nile, pupils are able to see and know overpopulation by creating a situation of insufficient resources. That they experience this in their own lives is made invisible not least due to the construction of the identity of the 'self' in relation to consumer goods, luxuries and holidays (Fieldnote 29.1.96); that overpopulation is also to do with resource use per person is ignored. Spatialising the difference between the 'developed' and 'developing' world makes it visible and knowable:

Landscape description, the spreading out of a country or territory as a picture to be gazed upon from above, provides a powerful means of visualizing what it is development does (Crush 1995a:15).

Thus, in the classroom the world is ordered into North and South and in terms of terrain, climate, landscape and living space. The 'Third World' is then known as a distinct space cartographically: 'Third World' countries are in the Southern

hemisphere. This is even the case with Japan (Horesh 1985:505) as the following example from one of Anne Church's lessons with 9a shows:

AC Can you think of a southern hemisphere country doing well?

Pupil Australia and Japan

JB Japan is in the North. What we're talking about here is a  
generalisation (Fieldnote 5.12.95).

Through the attributing of 'generic populations with generic characteristics and generic landscapes' (Crush 1995a:15) to those spaces, the world is ordered in terms of urban versus rural - skyscrapers versus fields - and industrial versus agricultural - factories versus farms. Thus, the 'Third World' is generalised as not industrial or urban, not spacious or comfortable, fitting an overall metaphor of absence. In addition, such a 'strong classification of space' accentuates the 'difference' of the 'other' (Horesh 1996:291) leading it to a blurring with metaphor.

Metaphor plays a central role in the communication of population and of development (Porter 1995:65), where the difficulties of insufficient classroom space are interpreted as metaphors for resource scarcity, cramped living conditions and disorder. For example, Anne Church's claim that Tanzania has 'no food and disease' (Fieldnote 3.10.95) does not reflect her belief in such a dire situation but a use of metaphor to communicate the general theme of scarcity and plenty. The construction of the 'Third World' as devoid of luxuries, holidays and cities is a metaphor for its difference not a



representation of it. However, both metaphor and spatial imagination represent means of seeing the ‘difference’ between the ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ world:

The metaphors of development are successful to the extent that, as Foucault says, they hide their own mechanisms (Porter 1995:84).

Thus, the communication of development in the classroom is successful in its adoption and construction of authority and objectivity. By enabling pupils to ‘see’ and imagine a world ordered in terms of binary oppositions, the ideology of development behind them remains invisible (Hall 1997a:49). An important part of the success of development has been the authority it attains through a quantification and measurement of reality. This is reflected in the combination of statistics and development in the classroom.

### *Statistics and ‘World Development’: quantification and authority*

In combining the National Curriculum requirements to teach development with statistics (DfE 1995:13), the differences between the ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries are emphasised, enhancing the absence/presence dichotomy outlined in the preceding section. In seeking to quantify the differences, statistics are represented as imbuing that dichotomy with the scientific authority and objectivity fundamental to its validity, just as:

[t]he claim to scientific knowledge is necessary to the World Bank’s insistence that its actions and policies are founded on objective,

economic criteria rather than political considerations (Williams 1995:174).

The purpose is not to argue either for or against the use of statistics as a means of measuring development but to identify the impact it has on the communication of development in the geography department at Cardinal James School. Anne Church states the link between communicating development and statistics explicitly:

Giving them a global pattern, an overall development thing is difficult so therefore, our unit of work here entitled development is actually teaching them about using statistics and about what those statistics mean (Interview, Anne Church).

In terms of statistical skills, the focus was on using statistical tables in atlases to extract information in order to compare countries, and on presenting statistical information, primarily in the form of pie-charts and scatter-graphs. The influence of statistics on the 'story' being told was particularly strong in reinforcing the emphasis and exaggeration of difference.

In a lesson to 9a, Anne Church describes the role of statistics as enabling comparison between places. Bolstering the construction of the difference between the 'developed' and 'developing' world in terms of dichotomies, the emphasis was on figures which offered a stark contrast. As Sue Barton put it in an interview referring to good examples of showing the difference between the 'developed' and 'developing' world:

[A]nother ... statistic you look at is the percentage that work on the land.

And that's always a good one. You know 90 odd percent in Bangladesh,

3 per cent in the UK (Interview, Sue Barton).

Similarly, referring to the example of a statistic found by a pupil from 9d referring to 60,000 people per doctor, Sue Barton commented to me:

And certainly with one class that you were in, that population per doctor in Bangladesh, that got them (Interview, Sue Barton).

Figures showing stark contrasts were conceptualised as offering a useful means of communicating development, fitting the absence/presence dichotomy already outlined; they enabled a particular 'story' of the 'Third World' to be told. In this case, it was particularly ironic since the statistic actually came from Ethiopia, reflecting the emphasis on a generalised rather than specific construction of difference. In starting to construct a hierarchy of development, 9a chose, with Anne Church, to place the USA at the top of the list and Ethiopia at the bottom. In interviews, both staff commented that care was needed with statistics in order that an appropriate picture of the 'Third World' was produced - one that fits the developed/developing dichotomy:

If you start to look at Britain's figures and one or two other European places and then you try and compare it with Japan. It doesn't work. You think ohh they're in a different class now. Eeeek what am I going to do



about this? Death rates, now you see you have to pick and choose so carefully (Interview, Anne Church).

Sue Barton also indicated in an interview that

You need to pick a few developed and obviously the USA is an obvious [one], your own country and maybe Canada or Switzerland as against the really opposite end of the scale, the very poor ones. (Interview, Sue Barton).

Thus, the use of statistics can be conceptualised as informing the construction and emphasis of stark differences between the ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ world. In addition, and particularly important given the emphasis on constructing development as an ‘objective’ reality, the statistics imbue that dichotomy with scientific authority.

Whilst there is increasing recognition that ‘numbering’ and ‘quantification’ are ‘historical products rather than eternal principles of analysis’ (Young 1979:63), statistics relating to development were communicated in the classroom as ‘asocial facts’ (Irvine, Miles and Evans 1979:1). As Anne Church put it to 9a, you ‘need figures’ (Fieldnote 7.11.95) to compare different places, rather contradicting the spatial and metaphorical construction of difference explored earlier. The statistical account of countries through their birth rate, death rate, percentage of the population involved in agriculture, Gross Domestic Product, people per doctor, and so on, was conceptualised by the staff as offering an authoritative picture of ‘reality’. At the start

of the lessons on development, Anne Church asked the pupils of 9a to make a hierarchical list of countries according to how developed the pupils thought they were:

We're going to make a list without any knowledge. Going to use the ideas we have at the moment (Fieldnote 31.10.95).

The following week, pupils were then told to place these countries in a table and to find out, from the atlas, the different figures for population growth, GDP, people per doctor, and so on, for each country. For homework they were then instructed to re-do the 'hierarchy' ranking the countries in terms of the statistical measures, linking to the earlier signification of developing as having a high population growth, 'developed' being wealthy (i.e. high GDP), and so on. Using statistics represented, as Anne Church instructed her class, 'finding out what's going on ... making it real' (Fieldnote 31.10.95); statistics were contrasted to the pupils' own ideas as being authoritative. When asking the pupils to 'make sense' of what the statistics 'actually mean', she commented:

Birth rate, death rate, life expectancy - you're talking about people  
(Fieldnote 14.11.95).

The meaning, in relation to people, came from the 'developed' versus 'developing' countries framework that dominated the communication of 'World Development'. Although the ranking of development could incorporate intermediate examples, the main emphasis was, as shown, the contrast between developed and developing. In

comparing the countries statistically, the quantification of the difference between them reflected the absence or presence of development:

Think about explaining it to people who know nothing about it. e.g. mum and dad. We've done a table which shows how developed countries are. Which countries are better/worse off. Better/less well-off - developed (Fieldote 7.11.95).

Thus, development is constructed as numerically measurable in terms of the ground - and percentage points - the 'developing' countries need to make up. The difference in numbers indicates the distance in terms of states of development. In quantifying the difference between countries, it gave a measure to the levels of development and hence, the amount of developing that was needed. The aim of this concluding section is to explore the notion of development that was constructed through the construction of a quantifiable and binary world.

### *Conclusion: development and 'truth'*

This chapter has conceptualised the communication of the 'Third World' in the geography curriculum at Cardinal James School as a modernist narrative characterised by the ideas of knowledge and understanding behind it and its binary ordering of the world. It has shown, in particular, how the methods used to construct development cannot be divorced from the content, emphasising the ways 'knowledge' is constructed through a blurring of metaphor and 'science'. However, the chapter has not explored the notion of development that is narrated. Although the lessons



observed were, according to the staff, either about 'World Development', or about 'Population', which they conceptualised as part of communicating development, a notion of what it is to develop remained largely implicit. This section explores the conception of development implicit in this ordering and knowing of the world, conceptualising it as ethnocentric, teleological (Horesh 1985:510) and tautological.

Until the recent growing interventions of grassroots movements into development, the practice of development has 'worked' - or rather, has not worked (Crush 1995a:4) - back to front. Instead of starting from the 'problem' and working toward the solution, a universally applicable solution - development - has formed the starting point, with countries' problems constructed in relation to that. Thus, the representation of the world, and particularly its problems, is intimately linked to conceptions of development. Although how the world is constructed is a subjective representation informed by a particular conception of development, views of starving children, natural disasters, poorly maintained roads or people tilling the soil by hand, seem to make that representation, and hence the underlying conception of development, self-evident truth (Escobar 1995:12.). The communication of the 'Third World' in the geography department at Cardinal James School is dominated by those representations; it is a representation of development's representation of the world in which the notion of development is not stated.

The department's focus on development's representations is related to its emphasis on 'awareness' (Interview, Anne Church) and depicting the world. As shown earlier, the staff differentiated their communication of the 'Third World' in terms of its emphasis

on knowledge and depiction rather than engendering attitude and encouraging participation. They claimed to concentrate on concrete facts rather than politics and opinion. These dual aims fit closely to the representations of development which are perceived as knowable, scientific and objective; they appear to paint a verifiable picture of how the world is - one which can be proven as true - avoiding politics and opinion and depicting what the difference is between the 'developed' and the 'developing' world. But by essentialising the characteristics of 'developed' and 'developing' countries - defined by Gregory as a constitutive part of Orientalism (1995:457) - constructing the latter in terms of the absence of the former's traits, development is constructed as the progression to being like a 'developed' state (for example see Hettne 1995:50; Escobar 1995:vii). Representing the 'self' as unproblematically successful implies that the 'West's' development, and the characteristics of that development, are wholly beneficial: for example, urbanisation, industrialisation and low population growth. Essentialising in terms of opposites does not allow for levels of 'difference', with the exception of the ranking according to statistics in Anne Church's lessons, and as said, attention there was focused on the different extremes. Thus, countries are either 'good' or 'bad', 'rich' or 'poor'. There is no allowance for heterogeneity within the two spheres. This is made explicit in the consideration of production structures, where the labels of primary, secondary and tertiary industry become equated with levels of development. A timeline of progress is constructed on which the 'Third World' is still at an 'early stage of development' (Fieldnote 28.11.95 & Waugh and Bushell 1992a). As Sue Barton put it:

Africa is going to take the longest to get up to where we are now. They reckon it'll be 2050 before it is developed. Very far behind (Fieldnote 5.3.96).

Thus, development is conceived in modernist and determinist terms. A recipe for development is constructed which consists of the ingredients of 'Western' capitalist society (Hettne 1995:37). It is assumed that with those elements, a 'developed' outcome can be predicted. Measured against its own criteria, this can be said to be 'true' since the construction of development is also tautological and represents, in Foucault's terms, a 'regime of truth' (Hall 1997a:49).

The interconnectedness of solving the lack of development, representing its absence and validating that representation blurs diagnosis and prescription. This results in a conception of development which is necessarily true. The diagnosis that lack of development arises due to the absence of industry enables the prescription that industry will lead to development, but that diagnosis is informed by a conception of development as being the growth of capitalist industry. If development is industrialisation, then the growth of industry by definition leads to development. To use another example explored earlier, being 'developed' is equated with a balanced and restrained population. Lack of development is the opposite. But lack of development is not only the cause of overpopulation - in one of Sue Barton's lessons one reason put forward for people having big families is that they need people to work on the land (Fieldnote 26.2.96) - it is also an effect - 'Overpopulation is when the resources of an area cannot support the population living there' (Anne Church,



Fieldnote 14.11.95). The conception of development refers to its representation of the world to validate itself. By these means, development as capitalist industrialisation is constructed as the 'truth'.

Through its claims to scientific authority, 'truth' and knowledge, the communication of the 'Third World' in the geography department at Cardinal James School is fundamentally modernist. Despite the links identified by Sue Barton and Anne Church, between their communication of the 'Third World' and its wider communication and function in the curriculum at Cardinal James School, it is argued that a contradiction also arises in this instance. By representing development as following the path of Western capitalism and consumerism, the communication of the 'Third World' in geography contradicts the promotion of tolerance that, it is claimed, forms a part of the school ethos; the wholly modernist construction of the 'world' and development constructs the 'Western' view as authoritative and the 'truth', denying and questioning the 'rationality' of alternative perspectives. As Bauman puts it,

From the point of view of reason-founded human order, tolerance is incongruous and immoral (Bauman 1992:xiv).

The central factor here is the epistemological position taken, with knowledge and difference treated as facts rather than constructions. There is no space for reflection or debate, confirming the teachers' beliefs that this should primarily take place elsewhere in the curriculum - theology, for example. This denial of uncertainty and debate has important implications for the relationship between the communication of

‘development’ and the wider National Curriculum within which it is located. If the National Curriculum is understood as an attempt to bolster nationhood and the ‘self’ in response to increasing fragmentation and contingency (Gilbert 1995:24), then the communication of the ‘Third World’ not only represents the very notion of development on which Britain’s self construction as ‘developed’, ‘modern’ and ‘great’ was built. It also reinforces the emphasis within the National Curriculum on order, stability and consensus (Vass 1995:35) through its modernist position on knowledge, ‘ordering’ of the world and construction of the ‘self’ as in control and empowered. The claims to authority and conception of development narrated through the communication of the ‘Third World’ in the geography department at Cardinal James School provide a justification for that ordering, as well as an example of its supposed benefits. However, this is not to suggest that it is only through development as part of the National Curriculum for geography that such a construction of the ‘Third World’ is narrated. A key expression of the dichotomised construction of the developing ‘Third World’ and developed ‘West’ is the intervention of the latter in the former’s development. How the ‘Third World’ is constructed plays a key role in defining the role of the ‘West’ in that process. Thus, we now turn to the ways in which support for ‘Third World’ development is engendered within the school curriculum by analysing the communication of the ‘Third World’ through fundraising and charity.

## CHAPTER 5

# **‘CARING ABOUT THEIR FELLOW HUMAN BEINGS’: CONSTRUCTING THE ‘THIRD WORLD’ THROUGH CHARITY**

Development educators are now relatively unanimous in their rejection of the ‘charity’ vision of the Third World, in which the motivating force was to inspire compassion and to awaken a sense of ‘moral duty’ to help the less fortunate. Today most educators agree that this is a form of ‘development pornography’ reinforcing a harmful stereotype in which the Third World is presented as backward and hopeless. Not only is this felt to be morally questionable but also inaccurate, ignoring indigenous Third World development efforts of considerable importance for the North as well as the South (Arnold 1988:188).

We see less and less of the underlying causes of, or practical solutions to, global poverty and environmental degradation, so popular pressure for serious political change fizzles out. And then, as if inexplicably, we sense the global crisis deepening (Cleasby 1995:4).



Although the ‘Third World’ is only a required element of the National Curriculum in geography, it also has a role in other areas of the curriculum. This chapter explores the construction of the ‘Third World’ through fundraising in the curriculum, suggesting that the discourses of ‘charity’ and ‘caring’ through which this takes place define the role of the ‘West’ in ‘Third World’ development primarily in terms of aid and benevolence. The ‘Third World’ is again constructed in terms of what it does not have, rendering struggle within the ‘Third World’ invisible and ‘prioritising out’ critical agendas which point to the need for political change on the part of the West. This tension between different development agendas is reflected in the curriculum in terms of that between fundraising for the ‘Third World’ in schools, and educating about the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum. Whilst this is defined primarily in terms of a dilemma posed for aid agencies who claim to both educate and raise money (e.g. Sinclair 1994; Gladstone 1989; Regan 1994), it is suggested that this analysis fails to consider the benefits of a fundraising perspective from the point of view of teachers.

Divided into four sections, the chapter begins by analysing how the value attached to imbuing a sense of caring defines a space for the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum. Using case studies from the two schools, section two explores the imperatives for constructing the ‘Third World’ through charity in the curriculum despite unease around its representations of the ‘Third World’. Whilst, at one level, non-governmental development organisations (NGDOs) are both directly and indirectly responsible for some of the emphasis on charity, this fails to take into account some of the school level and educational imperatives for constructing the ‘Third World’ in this way. In particular, the construction of the ‘Third World’ through charity reinforces

modernist notions of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’, is simple and apparently logical and enables participation and a feeling of responsible action within limited and uncontentious parameters. The chapter concludes by suggesting that in its reproduction of dominant discourses of difference, the communication of the ‘Third World’ through charity reflects and reinforces wider debates around development which limit any requirement for substantial change on the part of the ‘West’.

### *Caring and the ‘Third World’*

Whilst the communication of the ‘Third World’ through development corresponds to a National Curriculum requirement regarding young people’s knowledge, its communication through fundraising is not stipulated by the National Curriculum and corresponds not simply to knowledge but to engendering attitudes and encouraging actions. This is not to say that the communication of development does not engender attitudes but that unlike with fundraising, this is not the stated aim. Sue Barton defines part of the communication of the ‘Third World’ in terms of caring:

It’s awareness raising of people who are less fortunate than ourselves, different ways of life looking at the moral, looking at the spiritual aspects. But particularly I think sort of instilling that caring nature into children. Caring about their fellow human beings that’s what it’s about isn’t it? (Interview, Sue Barton, Head of Lower School and Geography Teacher, Cardinal James School)

Unlike development, caring is not defined in relation to a specific subject but as a broader attitude and one not corresponding simply to the 'Third World':

Just thinking of even Dunblane. Dunblane was close to home so I admit that that was a different situation. Nevertheless, the kids wrote letters they sent cards. We got a nice letter back from the school in Dunblane thanking us for all our wishes. And so again it's actually, it's marking the fact that we notice, that we care, that we're thinking of other people other than ourselves and our own concerns. And I would have thought that that applied to third world countries as much as somewhere in this country (Interview, Sue Barton).

On the surface it would appear that because it is not defined in relation to a specific subject, the communication of the 'Third World' through charity is less well defined and articulated than through development; there is not a formally defined space for the 'Third World' in this form, in terms of curricular location. Thus, its communication through charity is located where the moral and spiritual elements of the curriculum are positioned, primarily religious education - or theology at Cardinal James School - personal and social development (PSD), and in school assemblies. But reflecting the overall research approach, that it is not part of the National Curriculum, nor defined in relation to more specific goals (such as forms of knowledge or particular skills) nor located within a particular subject, does not reduce its importance in structuring the curriculum and within that, framing the communication of the 'Third World'. Because caring for others is already identified as a valuable and desirable educational aim there



is, in a sense, a ready made but less specific and defined space for the communication of the 'Third World' through charity within the school curriculum. Whilst charity or fundraising are not the only possible actions corresponding to discourses of caring, they predominate in the case of the 'Third World' since pupils cannot undertake activities with the specific people they are caring for and there are ready made for channels for conveying money or items to people in the 'Third World'.

Having distinguished the communication of the 'Third World' through charity from its construction through development, it must be also be recognised that they are interdependent. Charity toward the 'Third World' requires a framework of meaning which enables identification of need and ability to help satisfy that need. It is through reference to development that the 'self' and the 'other' can be defined in terms of developed and underdeveloped and hence, giver and receiver. Indeed, charity toward the 'Third World' is intimately bound up with conceptions of development which point to the acquisition of 'Western' characteristics as the means to develop; the 'Third World' cannot develop without the 'West'. Constructing the 'Third World' in terms of absences and the 'West' in terms of presences constructs giving as logical. So at the same time as engendering a particular attitude, the construction of the 'Third World' through fundraising can also be conceptualised as a form of participation in development. To help the 'Third World' is to participate in its development. Consequently, the charity discourse further validates that of development; it is another technique of development. It is argued in this chapter that the intersection of the construction of the 'Third World' through fundraising with its construction through development limits its potential to challenge modernist notions of the 'self' and the

‘other’. Whilst there is contradiction between constructions of the ‘Third World’ through fundraising, it operates to development’s truths, constraining its critical potential. This is reflected in the tension between fundraising, which can be seen as a product of the logic of a modernist notion of development, and education, which potentially reflects a more critical approach. However, the aim is not to assess which is the more worthwhile nor to analyse the potential usefulness of aid and charity. Rather, the aim is to explore, through case studies, how the construction of the ‘Third World’ through fundraising defines notions of change and development, and within that, how it defines the ‘self’, the ‘world’ and the ‘other’, and their relations to each other.

### *Case studies: caring, difference and development*

Reflecting their communication at different sites in the curriculum, case studies of the construction of the ‘Third World’ through fundraising take a range of different forms and fulfil different roles. Despite staff rhetoric in both schools around the problems of stereotypical images of the ‘Third World’, the importance of a multicultural approach which challenges prejudice and the need for pupils to question (Interviews, Headteacher and Principal, Meadows School and Cardinal James School), constructions of the ‘Third World’ were used to raise money in both schools. At Meadows School, multiculturalism was identified as the primary vehicle for challenging stereotypes of the ‘Third World:

... I have always felt that there should be a tendency to avoid a totally Eurocentric curriculum and the third world should be part of that but not

third world in the sense of ‘poor things we must pity them and help them’ (Interview, Jenny Patricks, Head of R.E., Meadows School).

But at the same time, the headteacher, who was a vociferous supporter and promoter of multicultural and challenging perspectives in the curriculum (see chapter 7), identified fundraising as an important facet of the communication of the ‘Third World’:

We’ve got a student James that we sponsor as a school, you may know about it, in Uganda and Year 7 students here have taken that kind of thing very seriously (Interview, Headteacher, Meadows School).

Examples of the communication of the ‘Third World’ offered by staff at Cardinal James School were primarily focused on fundraising. Steven Ray, an English teacher at Cardinal James School suggested during an informal discussion that the ‘Third World’ was ‘pocketed’ as being to do with charitable causes. In interviews with the principal, a deputy head, a science teacher and the head of history, reference was made to charitable activities in the school as a locus for the communication of the ‘Third World.’

I suppose in the sixth form also there is some reference to the third world because you do have students raising money for charity and we have had individuals come in and talk to us about various problems in the third world. I know they had somebody in just recently talking to



them about these children in South America who are simply rounded up by the police and shot (Interview, Susan Porter, Head of History, Cardinal James School).

For example there were some lower sixth collecting yesterday, I think it was for the street children in Guatemala (Interview, Kate Carter, Deputy Head, Cardinal James School).

So whilst fundraising for the 'Third World' is not required by the National Curriculum and senior staff express unease about the constructions it can produce, it continues to happen in both schools. At one level, the contradiction is explained by the dominance and history of charity as the main prism through which the 'Third World' has been viewed from the West:

There is no doubt that sympathy and hence generous giving is more easily elicited by images of helplessness and distress ... together with the very mixed images contained in media news and current affairs programmes, it is fundraising propaganda that dominates public perceptions (Gladstone 1989:18).

A recent MORI poll of 11 - 16 year olds on *Children's Knowledge of Global Issues*, commissioned for the Development Education Association (DEA), found that 82% claimed television was where they found out the most information on global and development issues (MORI/DEA 1998:7). Van der Gaag and Nash (1987) reported in

their study that the media were the main source of images of Africa for the young people in their research (see also, Midwinter 1994). Given that 'television news reports are dominated by pictures of conflict, famine and disaster' (Wade and Grunsell 1995:26), charity occupies the centre of young people's learning about the 'Third World'; the 'Third World' is viewed through its disadvantage and the popular responses to it. The communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum through fundraising reproduces its dominant constructions in Western society. But why these are reproduced at the same time as they are critiqued presents a more complex situation. Thus, the following sections aim to conceptualise the communication of the 'Third World' through fundraising in order to explore the imperatives behind their reproduction and perpetuation in the school curriculum.

Fundraising for the 'Third World' at Cardinal James School was linked to visits or materials from outside agencies and organisations. During the research period at Cardinal James School, Year 9 pupils were visited by a speaker from the charity Leprosy seeking to raise money for leprosy patients. Year 8 pupils conducted activities centred on materials from the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD) which focused on Haiti, corresponding to CAFOD's fundraising for that country. The school was also participating in a scheme with the Rotary club of Springton to send water crates to the 'Third World', and the pupils were asked to bring unwanted items, such as toys, to fill the crates with before being sent. Thus, the communication of the 'Third World' at Cardinal James School was particularly linked to discourses of caring through fundraising organisations.

Debates around the interrelationship of NGDOs and education focus on the contradictions and tensions presented through their fundraising activities. As stated above, money is most likely to be raised by images of 'helplessness' and 'distress' (Gladstone 1989:18). The images that are most likely to engender support for the work of the NGDOs in the 'Third World' does not necessarily represent the 'Third World' accurately or in a way that fits easily with their approach to development.

On the one hand, many of it's [Oxfam's] campaigns and some its educational publications suggest that it strongly favours the "empowerment" vision, while at the same time it provides materials for people to "knit" for Oxfam and to send clothing to the less fortunate (Arnold 1988:191).

According to Arnold (1988) there has been a shift in vision from charity to the poor, as the driving force behind NGDO activities, to empowerment of the poor. In 1989, the EC-NGDO network produced a 'Code of Conduct on Images and Messages' and subsequently, many NGDOs have adopted

codes of conduct or guidelines on the use and publication of visual and written material describing people and their situations, particularly in the South (NGDO-EC, 1994:132).

However, whether representing the 'Third World' as empowered, rather than as victims, will generate support for empowerment based activities is subject to debate.



This tension is all the more acute with respect to development education, which has been funded primarily by NGDOs.

The central dilemma in this tension is that fundraising generates support and funds, whilst education is seen to be a drain on funds (Arnold 1988:191). Donors are less likely to want to see their money being used in education in this country, not least since the results of that work are hard to take into account (Dolan 1992:209). Minear (1987:206-209), writing about the USA, asserts that the dominance of overseas agendas, perhaps partly a result of donor expectations and the complexity of issues and relations between government and NGDOs, generates a reluctance on the part of NGDOs to 'commit significant amounts of their own resources to creating the climate for change' (Regan 1994:3). The tension and intersection of fundraising and education is shown clearly in Oxfam's memorandum on its 'public education and campaigning programme' (Oxfam 1990), produced for, and as a result of, a Charity Commission investigation of its lobbying and advocacy work in 1990. This contained an explicit statement of Oxfam's aims and intentions at the time, although it should be borne in mind that the statement was also an attempt to persuade the Commission that Oxfam had not contravened charity law. The articulation of Oxfam's aims suggests that fundraising is an important part of their education campaign. Their guidelines for 'Public Education and Campaigning' stipulate that it must be:

- i. to the benefit of our beneficiaries
- ii. derived from Oxfam's direct experience
- iii. ancillary to the main activity in pursuit of the charity's Objects

iv. not party political

v. delivered in a style and language appropriate to a charity

(Oxfam 1990:9)

Of particular importance here is (i), which states that education and campaigning must be for the benefit the poor of the 'Third World', some of whose needs, the report also states, require not simply help from Oxfam but the help of governments and other agencies (Oxfam 1990:10). How the work benefits the beneficiaries is of particular importance since it indicates the two-fold approach of Oxfam to education. In this instance, awareness raising as a means to political change through political action is defined as an aim. However, in the 'Guidelines for Oxfam's Education and Campaigning Programme' for staff and supporters working in Oxfam's name and included as Appendix 5 to the 1990 memorandum, point (d) states: 'Fundraising - this is integral to the Education and Campaigning Programme' (Oxfam 1990). Thus, the programme seeks to benefit overseas beneficiaries through both engendering structural change and financial support for the organisation, the latter being a particularly problematic notion of education. In a sense paradoxically, this element of the programme is reinforced by the Charity Commission inquiry which questions the 'extent to which involvement in public education and campaigning activities may reduce public support for Oxfam and for the sector in general' (Oxfam 1990). Oxfam's response to this was that the research they had conducted indicated that such work made people more likely to support Oxfam. Either way, education was constructed in terms of having to engender support for the organisation.

### *Cardinal James School*

Accounts of the visit by a speaker from Lepra, support for the Rotary club project sending water crates to the 'Third World' and the use of CAFOD materials are taken as case studies of the construction of the 'Third World' through fundraising at Cardinal James School. These have been selected since they not only illustrate the importance of engendering support, but they also correspond to the categories identified by Sinclair in his typology of interactions between schools and NGDOs and thus, reveal the breadth and diversity of constructions of the 'Third World' through fundraising:

- 1      Organisations make an *input* into schools' curriculum activities by offering speakers of special simulation events. These may also be supported by materials promoting aspects of the organization's work.
  
- 2      Organizations offer special events which are extra-curricular and which may in some cases relate to specific campaigns or even fundraising.
  
- 3      Organizations offer opportunities for teachers to resource and *develop the curriculum* for which those teachers have responsibility.

(Sinclair 1994:55)



At one level, this is limited in its scope since not all the activities in the two schools were conducted by NGDOs. However, the typology need not be confined to external organisations, but can be taken as a more broadly defined framework within which the intersection of the 'Third World' and fundraising can be viewed in the curriculum. It is also the case that it is the balance of the different approaches that is more important than whether one approach or another is adhered to:

9c had a speaker from Lepra ... and we're hoping to do something for her during the summer. She was showing them you know, how easy it is to help. With a little bit of funding you can change a child's whole life from a disaster to ... She kept it very simple. She showed them a picture of a little boy with his hands all sort of curled up and a terribly sad look on his face. And she showed them the same little boy with one hand cured or one hand sort of treated and a great smile and how the other hand was going to be. Quite a small amount of money can make that (Interview, Fiona Bamford, Acting Head of Theology, Cardinal James School).

A particular story about someone in the 'Third World' is told in order to generate a caring and benevolent response. As the teacher says, she kept the story simple, moving from a beginning, in which the child is suffering from leprosy, to a middle, in which the agency funded cure takes place, and an end in which the child is now happy. The story told in this instance is a seductive one in a number of respects: it has a happy ending and is simple; a cause and effect relationship is identified which is

appealing in the direct and uncomplicated way it appears to better people's lives. There is also seductiveness in the identities this story constructs. In order to accentuate a contrast between then and now, the child is represented at the start as underprivileged and unhappy because of their leprosy and thus implicitly, because of the lack of money in his country to cure it; the activity makes 'extensive use of very negative stereotypes of people from the South' (Sinclair 1994:55). That the pupils are able to secure change and do have the money to do so empowers them; where they live is constructed as a more desirable place to be and they are defined as having benevolent power within the 'Third World'. The structural factors informing the persistence of leprosy and the links between those structures and pupils, are not engaged with. This is also the case with respect to the schools' participation in the project to send water crates to the 'Third World' which they fill with gifts for the journey out. Thus, the dichotomy of developed and developing countries is institutionalised within the school. The agencies take advantage of the power relations and discipline of the school so that for pupils to participate in an activity defined positively by the school requires giving money or 'gifts' - 'exploiting young people as an accessible source of funding' as Sinclair puts it (Sinclair 1994:55).

The third example taken here is more complex, transcending all three of Sinclair's categorisations. This example also differs, to some degree, in its pedagogy. Again, it is outlined by the acting head of theology, Fiona Bamford:

We get a lot of appeals but being a Catholic school we follow CAFOD's annual focus. Usually it is a third world country and usually

it is an approach through the curriculum. This year it was Haiti for example. And there were some very interesting resources which are good examples to the children of how things function *in* the third world, how the people are exploited and then again exploited and when they try to struggle out of it they're exploited again. But again it's put over in a way that they can relate to. So you teach them about the situation. Then you'd suggest perhaps some publicity, posters, writing, poems, things that they can do, so they do things. A display, like doing that. And then perhaps little projects for raising money so, sponsored fasts, things of that kind (Interview, Fiona Bamford).

The activities this quotation refers to differ from the Lepra example in a number of ways. Because this represents a scheme of work and not a speaker, the pupils are active and engaged rather than passive. At its broadest level, these activities communicate substantive information; whilst the Lepra example centred on communicating the potential power of the pupils to them, in this instance the focus is Haiti and knowledge of ideas and concepts through this. In speaking of exploitation, power and struggle against it is introduced. A consequence of this is that there is engagement with the complexity and inequality of development and hence, not a simple story through which the information is communicated; there is not a happy ending in which the 'patient' (Haiti) is 'cured', unlike the story told during the Lepra visit. However, in the concluding remark, there is an indication that, in a sense, a resolution of some sort is sought through charitable activities in which the 'self' is empowered again but because of the contextualisation, a rather more complex



empowerment results in that such fundraising stands against exploitation. It both questions and reinforces the power of the 'self', on the one hand responding to the exploitation of the 'Third World' by the 'West' but at the same time being part of that power by being empowered to affect improvement. Where both these quotations share common ground is that they confine and constrain how the pursuit of change can be perceived. By focusing on improvement through charitable activities, the participation and empowerment of the 'self' is limited and defined according to narrow criteria. The ability to change is communicated in terms of the benefits of affluence. The means of change is seen in terms of charity rather than in terms of more explicitly political actions. As a result, the difference and homogeneity of privileged and underprivileged are reinforced. Pupils' potential but perhaps less immediately obvious empowerment through their daily lives, in what they buy, how they talk about the 'Third World', and later on, how they vote, are excluded. In this example, the more complex intersection of pedagogies, aims and visions results in levels of contradiction, particularly between constructions of difference. At one level this can be seen as reflecting the type of ambiguity and breadth identified in Oxfam's education and campaigning guidelines. It also suggests that change through charity and through political understanding may not be compatible aims within a single activity. As with the former example, to some degree, the instrumental dimension of the activities - fundraising - constrains the pedagogy; the potential for critical engagement is limited by pre-defining the outcome of the work in terms of raising money.

### *Meadows School*

The potential for tension within the construction of the 'Third World' through fundraising at Meadows School is even greater given its emphasis on multicultural perspectives. Development education literature defines multiculturalism as a closer ally than charity (e.g. Graham and Lynn 1989:13); its representation of difference is seen as more desirable. However, as said, Meadows School also communicates the 'Third World' through charity in its curriculum. Again, the activities undertaken express a tension around the question of difference:

I'm attached to year 7. In year 7 we actually have a sponsored event every year to provide enough money for the education of a young man in a third world country, and in a sense one gets the impression that often it's presented in that way, it's a sort of charity thing, y'know, what shall we do for people out there, rather than y'know, what can we learn from ... often it's the sort of y'know, look at these, oh in't it a shame, er y'know, their sort of lifestyles are like this, what can we do for them, y'know, do we send charity or money or whatever. I suspect it's rather done on that basis (Interview, Pete Simmons, Deputy Head and Head of Science, Meadows School).

Pete Simmons indicates contradiction between the activities within the school and the rhetoric surrounding the communication of 'Third World' difference. This is also expressed by one of the other deputy heads, Hilary Cox:

MS If it's [the 'Third World's] going to be in curriculum, what would be the reasons for doing so?

HC Well, I think it would, it would counter some of the messages that students might be receiving. I mean, I don't know what messages you picked up from the kids but, third world, they're all poor, poorly educated as well, they don't have very nice houses, don't have houses at all, and y'know, and they're a bit sort of quaint, wear their funny clothes and all sorts of things like this, and they're always starving, and there are earthquakes (Interview, Hilary Cox).

Despite this unease charity does play a part in the school. The example taken is that outlined by the deputy head, Pete Simmons - the sponsorship of a Ugandan student.

The sponsorship of 'Third World' children or communities is a popular activity for schools; the principal at Cardinal James School indicated in an interview that this was what was undertaken in a previous school and that she was interested in starting something similar at Cardinal James School (Interview, Principal). According to Burnell, in 1990, there were 'probably around 2 million Western "foster" parents of "Third World" children' and he lists Save the Children, ACTIONAID and International Christian Relief as promoting this form of activity (Burnell 1990:67). Sponsorship has been met with some unease in the development and NGDO community, particularly because it diverts attention and resources from the structural factors at the heart of underdevelopment, as well its possessive implications. In the



last five to ten years the focus has shifted from individual sponsorship to money going to communities - given the division generated by extra funds for individuals in poor communities - and a move to the term sponsorship rather than adoption. The sponsorship of James by Meadows School is also different in that it is not through an agency but through local missionaries with whom the school has contact. In a sense, then, there is even less attention to education about the 'Third World' since the main aim is fundraising - the activities are not produced through an education department of an NGDO. However, this is tempered, at one level, by the educational dimension fostered by the school. Staff at Meadows School see their sponsorship scheme offering particular advantages, as commented on by Catherine Leas, a French teacher:

CL We have a link with a boy called James in Uganda and we have read quite a bit about the country and they have raised money through a sponsored read for him. I understand that his parents were killed in the civil war and he's got a brother and sister he has to look after. And he has no grant. Education is not free so we sponsor him as year 7. Each year, as an ongoing rolling program, year 7 take charge of him and pay for his tuition. And we get letters from him which are read in assembly. And we send letters back and we've had pictures as well, slides that we have shown. And we have compared the two schools, you know, what does James have in his school, what do we have?

MS One of the children had mentioned that.

CL     So it's quite a big feature of the year 7 program, sort of awareness of others, raising money for charities, and having a named person who we sponsor. I think it came that some, the parents of some of our kids had been there as missionaries ... a few years, and came back saying there's a worthy case that we might want to support. And we decided to do that three years ago. And that's been ongoing for the three years (Interview, Catherine Leas, French Teacher, Meadows School).

Catherine Leas outlines different aspects of the sponsorship of James. At the first level there is the raising of money for James' education; Mary Jones, the co-ordinator of the activity said that in the first year they raised £1000 pounds for James and in subsequent years have raised £600. She defines the sponsorship as fitting into the 'caring for others' aspect of the school aims, linked to the idea of caring building from the school to family, friends and the world (Interview, Mary Jones). At the second level, there is the link between the fundraising activity - reading - which Mary Jones explains helps the pupils at Meadows School too - and James' predicament - insufficient educational resources. Thirdly, there is the issue of comparison between Meadows School and James' school in Uganda. Finally, there is the flow of information from James to the pupils through letters, and so on. The different levels within the sponsorship activity points to the range of functions it fulfils; it does not exist simply to raise money by engendering caring but by educating the pupils and raising their awareness. Thus, it appears to engage with different pedagogies -

information and mobilisation - by both imparting knowledge and encouraging activism. Central to this is the personal aspect of sponsorship:

They are very very positive to sponsor a named person. He writes such nice letters and I think they feel they can relate to him. He sounds a nice guy because he makes little mistakes, that sort of thing. I think he plants a few mistakes here and there (Interview, Catherine Leas).

Catherine Leas points to the transcendence of difference through engagement and communication with a specific, named person. The sponsorship 'meets an individual need of sponsors who wish to relate to the beneficiaries as individuals' (Burnell 1990:68). Mary Jones also points to the importance of personal stories. She says that she introduces the activity using the personal tale of the family, mentioning a hospital visit as a result of malaria and the costs involved and says that they tell the pupils about the family visiting and staying outside the hospital and cooking (Interview, Mary Jones). Thus, difference is engaged with through establishing a common personal link that the pupils can relate to. Pete Simmons also sees the personal dimension to sponsorship as important, defining James' letters in terms of 'what we can learn from [the 'Third World']]'. This implies a reversal of the flow of knowledge between the 'Third World' and the 'West' that is at the heart of modernist constructions of 'Third World' difference. In addition, the emphasis is on enabling James to educate himself, a form of empowerment (Arnold 1988:188), rather than being simply a recipient of help.



Despite the stated benefits, to a large extent the personal dimension is a means rather than an end, and what the 'end' of the scheme is reveals complexity. In the earlier quotation Catherine Leas described how they 'read quite a bit about the country' James comes from (Interview, Catherine Leas). Mary Jones also states that they do a bit on Uganda, such as 'where it is'. The staff see the scheme as fitting with the broader multicultural aims of the school:

And we sing songs. And even the songs themselves are so lovely for cultural awareness because they are not the same type of songs as ours and one of them is really quite nasty, it's somebody going through the jungle and he's going to eat up little children and we all sing that. I think it's in Swahili - I'm not sure which language we use (Interview, Catherine Leas).

At one level staff suggest that there is an important awareness raising and multicultural dimension to the scheme. However, this also raises questions about the significance of this as well as its engagement with difference. Not knowing which language the song is in weakens the level of engagement with difference, with difference being the key factor, not the nature and dynamics of that difference. In a sense this could almost be said to mirror the pupils' response to questions of the sponsorship scheme in which some of them could not recall which country James comes from, simply that it was 'Third World'. Mary Jones' description of the depth of the awareness dimension of the scheme is telling. She says in response to a question on how much they do about Uganda, 'not too much' as the pupils are 'not interested

in that' (Interview, Mary Jones). Mirroring the geography staff at Cardinal James School and their views on the potential contentiousness of 'development', politics are avoided, although in this case, because the pupils would, as she says, 'switch off' (Interview, Mary Jones). Consequently, the focus of the programme does not, in reality, attach great importance to explaining or engaging with the different lifestyle James lives or the reasons for his poverty. His difference is decontextualised and thus, 'Third World' difference is constructed as undifferentiated and homogenous. The story in the song they sing plays to the stereotype of the 'Third World' as barbaric and covered in jungle, as opposed to urban, reinforcing modernist constructions of the 'Third World'. This can be seen even more starkly with respect to comparing James' life and that of the pupils in Meadows School. Pete Simmons states that they use the sponsorship 'as a sort of comparison' which is continued 'within the PSD sessions in that week ...' (Interview, Pete Simmons). Catherine Leas identifies a similar comparative purpose in the scheme (Interview, Catherine Leas). However, by constructing the two schools as starkly different they produce an Orientalist representation of James' life. Mary Jones states that the way she teaches about his school is that in assemblies pupils hold up pieces of paper on which are written the things they'd expect to find in a school lab, for example, and then as she says of James' school, '[they] haven't got that', they put the pieces of paper down (Interview, Mary Jones). The same is done with respect to the hospital and she says that this has more impact than slides. Two themes are important here. Firstly, this results in the construction of Uganda in terms of absence; the school is defined in terms of their lack of the things we have. Secondly, it suggests that impact is the central point. Slides are rejected in favour of this exercise which tells the pupils nothing about what

the school lab or hospital are like; there is no imagery or depiction, just blank spaces where the cards were. They are then empowered in being able to fill those spaces. Taken with the decontextualisation of James' and Uganda's situation, it can be seen that the raising of funds is the central factor. What this analysis reveals is not simply how 'Third World' difference is constructed but that there are school based imperatives for that construction. Just as NGDOs may eschew education work due to its potential political risks and due to the complexity of issues, it is also possible that schools have incentives to avoid development education for these reasons. Communicating the 'Third World' through fundraising does not only have financial benefits.

### *Conclusion*

Throughout the case studies of the communication of the 'Third World' through charity in both schools there is a tension between the constructions of difference they convey. James' voice and the emphasis on his education as a means to develop, in the last example, and the question of exploitation in the CAFOD led work, run counter to the traditional construction of the voiceless 'Third World' victim who needs charity. However, the decontextualisation of James' experience and the limitation of engagement with the situation of Haiti to 'sponsored fasts', and so on, counters the more critical dimensions; modernist constructions of difference dominate.

The tension between the different dimensions of communicating the 'Third World' through charity and the primacy of modernist and unquestioning constructions of the 'self' and the 'other' reflects the tension between raising money and educating.



Because the framing of participation in development in terms of charity is defined by a modernist and uncritical notion of development (see chapter 4), modernist constructions of difference will predominate. This is partly due to the tensions within NGDOs and their influence on development education, but also because they fulfil educational roles defined from within the schools. Images centred around charity fit existing stereotypes and dominant constructions of 'Third World' difference and reinforcing them is easier than engaging with the critical discussions that question them. A simple story or dichotomy fits not only the school's aims, particularly in a time-constrained curriculum, but those of some of the agencies involved in school work. Further, that there are educational imperatives to communicate the 'Third World' through charity may explain the limited take up of critical materials being produced by NGDOs. Even where agencies seek to involve teachers and eschew the 'charity' vision - and this is becoming increasingly the case in development education work - this may be insufficient to counter a school and its teachers' predilection for it, and the incentives to sustain it. But whilst the intersection of the communication of the 'Third World' with existing imperatives and discourses may reinforce stereotypical constructions of it, the 'Third World' may also be linked to themes and discourses which claim to question those constructions. Indeed, the contradiction within constructions of the 'Third World' through fundraising can be seen as reflecting the different discourses and imperatives informing them - in this case, multicultural awareness and raising money. Thus, we now turn to consider the communication of the 'Third World' through multiculturalism, the dominant educational discourse around difference, analysing the degree to which it reinforces or questions modernist constructions of the 'Third World'.

## CHAPTER 6

# MULTICULTURALISM AND THE ‘THIRD WORLD’: EXOTICISM, ENTERTAINMENT AND EDUCATION.

I mean a lot of the kids in year 8 probably have stereotypes of India as just being starving beggars, terrible terrible famines and natural disasters, that kind of thing. And I mean suddenly we were presented with a much more positive and very rich celebration of aspects of Indian culture, which were super (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School).

... there's the exotic side of sort of multicultural work that I think can be a little bit damaging in a way because that means that they're not normal... (Interview, Hilary Cox, Deputy Head, Meadows School).

The definition of the ‘Third World’ as a potentially critical element of the school curriculum - challenging the reproduction of dominant stereotypes through development and charity - centres on its intersection with existing debates around difference in education, particularly multiculturalism (see chapter 3). That

multicultural engagements with difference have tended to focus on local or national difference and their interrelationship with achievement differentiates them, at one level, from the communication of the 'Third World'. But at another, because multiculturalism, in terms of academic research, policy and school activities, is the dominant educational engagement with difference, they are linked; the 'Third World' is both a vehicle for communicating multicultural difference and multiculturalism is a means to communicate 'Third World' difference. The aim of this chapter is to explore the reality of multicultural constructions of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, analysing the degree to which they challenge modernist constructions of the 'Third World' through development and charity. It is suggested that, mirroring the rhetoric explored in chapter 3, the communication of the 'Third World' through multiculturalism at Meadows School reflects a variety of interpretations and engagements with multiculturalism. Whilst some multicultural constructions succeed in challenging patronising and discriminatory understandings of the 'Third World', others do not; as with both development and charity, there are contradictions. The chapter is divided into sections considering the role of multiculturalism in each school and analysing case studies of its communication through multicultural activities at Meadows School. Emphasis is placed on the roles and impacts of contextualising and identifying the structural explanations of difference, celebrating difference, and critiquing the 'self' as a means to understand the 'Third World'.



### *Multiculturalism at Meadows School*

Although staff in both schools identified the critical potential of the 'Third World' in relation to multiculturalism, the degree to which the reality in each school matched the rhetoric was very different. The different status of multiculturalism in the schools was indicated at the outset of the fieldwork with the researcher being directed, at Cardinal James School, to the geography department, and at Meadows School, to the staff member responsible for multiculturalism. Multiculturalism's low profile at Cardinal James School is revealed in the comments of Susan Porter, the head of history, on the range of religions covered at the school:

SP I think they are getting better now. They're obviously trying to reshape the whole R.E. curriculum ... and there's a new head of department coming. And I think they have been, certainly they've been looking at prejudice and issues like that very much ... But children in this school, certainly in the sixth form and GCSE level I can say with my hand on my heart that they know absolutely nothing about Islam, nothing at all. Because when we do the Ottoman Turks which we do for A level history they just ...

MS That's their first encounter with ...?

SP That's their first encounter. So the first thing I have to do with them is do a lesson on Islam. And I presume it's the same for Sikhism, Hinduism. They know nothing about those religions.

And that has got to be something to do with the fact that this particular catholic school doesn't really look at other...

MS Is that a uniform thing across catholic schools?

SP I don't know because the last school I was in was a church of England school and they did look at all religions and they went out to visit mosques and Hindu temples and all the rest of it so the children knew a lot. In my school that I was at before that we taught history and R.E. in the history department and we did Islam before we did the crusades. So we brought in the major religions in that way. So that was quite nice. Quite useful. Here it doesn't happen. It doesn't happen here (Interview, Susan Porter, Cardinal James School).

Susan Porter suggests that, at least in terms of theology, the school does not take a multicultural perspective. In her interview responses, the principal was not able to offer examples of multicultural activities taking place, only where they could potentially have a role (Interview, Principal, Cardinal James School). This is not to say that there were no multicultural activities within the school. In the final term of fieldwork the researcher was told about a project with a class of Year 8 pupils on 'tribal' art, and although the focus was on 'tribal' art, particularly that of the American Indians, the 'Third World' also played a part, with work on house-decoration in West Africa, and Asian and Middle Eastern body painting. However, whilst the project had been running in the school throughout the year, staff who were aware of the research and in some cases, involved in it, did not inform the researcher of the project. It was

only in the final term that it was mentioned incidentally, further indicating the low profile of multiculturalism in the school. For these reasons, this is not taken as a representative case study of the communication of the 'Third World'.

Multicultural or intercultural activities were defined by staff as an important facet of Meadows School. Despite the problems surrounding the term (see chapter 3), multiculturalism is used in referring to activities within the school since this was the main term used by the staff. The majority of staff interviewed mentioned the school's multiculturalism in response to questions about the communication of the 'Third World'. Whilst staff at Cardinal James School were not able to offer examples of the communication of the 'Third World' through multiculturalism, the staff at Meadows School were able to identify a number of areas of the curriculum where this was taking place:

Well as you see from our aim statement I mean we very much encourage an international perspective - I don't know if you've got a copy of that ... I mean we're obliged as you know to promote a fundamentally Christian kind of ethos. To a large extent that doesn't present problems for us. I think R.E. do quite well in lifting the attention up and away from what is familiar. On a very small scale it might appear by going into different kinds of places in Coventry for instance, y'know, into mosques and into temples. I've been myself on one of their visits. But also by some of the studies and the projects that they involve the kids with. When they look at aspects of Jewish faith,



aspects of the Islamic faith, into Buddhism, the way in which, y'know, we've had a range of speakers just recently coming in to the sixth form, promoting a more international perspective through specifically spiritual traditions. I think that has been very valuable. And I also think that they promote quite a lot of discussion and debate about international morality. About what is right and what is wrong, what is fair and what is not fair. And I think that's worthwhile. But there are lots of other things that have been happening that I think are helpful in this context. I think the music department's been very active of late. We had that super festival just before Christmas. There was the Indian dancing and the Indian music, and that beautiful artwork, and I think that really kind of opened up a new perspective on the whole sub-continent to a lot of the kids who were involved ... they've had some work with steel bands for instance ... contact. The art department I think has done some interesting work in connection with both of those. So we're getting some quite good cross-curricula work done in that. I suppose you could look at some of the work in drama too (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School).

Meadows School's multiculturalism and its 'international dimension' are defined as overall school aims, outlined in the school aim statement and intended to inform the whole curriculum (Meadows School Aim Statement 1996). As with the role of charity in the curriculum, it is important to note that these can inform both the statutory and non-statutory curricula. The headteacher's listing of examples of the communication

of the 'Third World' through multicultural activities in the school can, at one level, be seen as the him putting some 'spin' on the school's work - and that he does this using multiculturalism further indicates its importance in the school (see chapter 7). But at the same time, he is referring to particular examples. This said, absences are as important as presences in the study of the curriculum. This chapter analyses examples that took place in the school, but it is also important to note that multiculturalism did not play a major informative role for all subjects and also, where it did play one, it did not necessarily involve the communication of the 'Third World'. As Pete Simmons, the head of science and a deputy head at Meadows School put it:

I don't think that the third world as the third world is mentioned at all in the National Curriculum for science, so therefore it doesn't get any time given to it unless there's a context in which it can be mentioned, and certainly we have, in the intercultural sense, in order to break down barriers between cultures by the overall school philosophy, we have attempted to ... put in parts of other people's cultures in our curriculum ... But you see it's not built in, it's not a significant part (Interview, Pete Simmons).

Before exploring the ways that the 'Third World' is constructed through multiculturalism it is important to note that multiculturalism is not synonymous with the communication of the 'Third World'. That staff offer examples of various multicultural activities at the school in response to questions on the communication of the 'Third World' does not mean that they are examples of the communication of the

‘Third World’ as defined in the methodology of the research. In a sense, whilst staff at Cardinal James School were unable to offer examples of critical engagements with ‘Third World’ difference, some staff at Meadows School redefined the research topic to be able to offer such examples (see chapter 2). Jenny Patricks, the head of R.E. staff member responsible for multiculturalism, delineates between the multicultural activities she is talking about, and the communication of the ‘Third World’:

I can see that there is a difference in a way between what you’re doing which is third world and ethnic minorities. I think probably for us because of the accessibility the ethnic minority link is the strongest and I would like to strengthen it (Interview, Jenny Patricks).

To maintain the integrity of the research, delineating between multiculturalism and the ‘Third World’ is essential. For example, reference was made on a number of occasions to visits by or to ‘Third World’ people, but by this was meant people of Asian or African descent living in the UK. Jenny Patricks gave the example of visits to temples in the local city:

Because the other thing that we do that we’re about to do is to go to the temples ... And what is lovely there is that they actually meet third world people, although they’re not third world people because on the whole the people that we talk to are people that were born here. Because of the language difficulty. If you talk to people who have come in very often their English is not good enough or sometimes their ability to



simplify their concepts is not good enough for the children to understand what they're talking about. Sometimes we have these brilliant chaps with a broad Midlands accent. The welcome you get at these places is absolutely *wonderful*, and it's a really great experience. Come if you like (Interview, Jenny Patricks).

Jenny Patricks refers to 'Third World' people but then qualifies this. However, the original comment is perhaps the most revealing in the sense that it indicates the difficulty of defining the communication of the 'Third World'. The definition of people as 'Third World' people, whether born here or not, is highly problematic and is rooted in the notion that there are distinct 'Third World' and 'Western' cultures:

... I think a lot of the culture that they bring with them is third world based and that's how they [the pupils] will see it (Interview, Jenny Patricks).

This notion of cultures and peoples rests on an artificial construct of cultural difference in which cultures are defined as discrete. It also implies a denial of cultural interpenetration and transformation (Nederveen Pieterse 1994). Not only is this position highly questionable, but it does not fit the research remit - to focus on the 'Third World' as a geographical entity. However, this example reveals the way in which multicultural difference and the 'Third World' can become ensnared, and highlights the importance of sustaining the distinction between them whilst being aware of their interrelationship. Thus, whilst chapter three detailed the ways potential

spaces for the 'Third World' in the curriculum are defined by multicultural discourses, the purpose here is not to analyse those discourses, but the degree to which the construction of the 'Third World' through them challenges its construction through development and charity. Whilst this may produce critiques of multicultural discourses, these are incidental to the main focus - the curricular construction of the 'Third World'.

To explore how the 'Third World' is constructed through multiculturalism at Meadows School, three multicultural projects in the music, art and drama departments are analysed as case studies. In addition, the conclusion explores two examples of its construction in the history and R.E. departments. A number of factors informed the choice of these case studies. Firstly, they represent the breadth of multicultural activity in the school, informing work in a range of different subjects and reflecting the ways different forms and interpretations of multiculturalism co-exist within the curriculum. In addition, the multicultural activities of the music, art and drama departments were given a high profile in the school, with the headteacher and other staff identifying them as multicultural 'successes':

We had that super festival just before Christmas. There was the Indian dancing and the Indian music, and that beautiful artwork, and I think that really kind of opened up a new perspective on the whole sub-continent to a lot of the kids who were involved ... And of course right now they're doing quite a lot in terms of the Fijian music and dance which looks promising. That's coming to a head in July, with me as the

king for the day, grass skirt and all apparently. And also they're doing quite a lot on African music right now (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher, Meadows School).

Mirroring the analysis of 'development' in geography as the authorised inclusion of the 'Third World' in the National Curriculum (chapter 4), this analysis focuses on what was defined as the centre-piece of the school's multiculturalism.

### *Multicultural music, art and drama: India, Africa and Fiji*

During the year in which data collection took place, the music, art and drama departments at Meadows school undertook three cross-curricula multicultural projects with the assistance of the county Intercultural Support Service (ICSS). The first focused on Indian culture, the second on African culture and the third on Fijian culture. This was a relatively new development within the school, as Bob Lawton, the head of music reveals:

My awareness in the school was that it was very much North West European and that was it basically. And that's the reason that we decided [to bring in Shahid, a member of the ICSS] to do an Indian music project, which was the first venture into the third world culture in the department anyway. And it was really not as successful as we'd hoped from the point of view of organisation, so we all had a few reservations about that and perhaps we'd hoped to have a little bit more from Shahid than we could have expected. But anyway, that's beside



the point. But we were also keen that he actually invited us to take, to host this intercultural festival. And really it's snowballed from that, as far as music and drama is concerned. So we had the Indian thing again in the autumn term which was really very different ... and then this term of course we've got the African work with year 7 and also the Fijian thing with year 9 (Interview, Bob Lawton).

The multicultural arts projects encompassed all three years this research is concerned with (7, 8 and 9). They were also large affairs and organisationally complex, with the whole year involved - 160 pupils in Year 8 (Fieldnote 6.10.95) - and with significant timetable changes involved. A major component was the ICSS, a service supported by Section 11 funding which was earmarked for work in the area of language and ethnic minorities (see Guy and Menter 1992:153). That they are working at Meadows School - with very few ethnic minority pupils - suggests at least some success in pursuing Swann's 'education for all' argument (DES 1985). The ICSS staff designed and taught the projects, visiting the school on a number of occasions each week and conducting workshops and rehearsals. Mandy Carter, an art teacher, explained the decision making process behind the projects in terms of

just chatting to the [ICSS] centre and seeing what resources they've got available that we can fit in and it's linking something with and art and music as well. And the African one works really well because there's a lot of drama, there's a lot of art and music which can all be linked together. And usually it's when we've got a year group that can rotate

through those three subjects so they follow it all the way through. So I think that's actually better for their understanding coz they take what they do in music and drama through to their art lessons and back again, so it's the twelve weeks they're concentrating on one specific area (Interview Mandy Carter).

At the simplest level, the aims of the projects were:

Broadening their understanding of different cultures. I mean the National Curriculum states the children must have a clear understanding of different cultures other than their own (Interview, Mandy Carter).

The headteacher and Mandy Carter both pointed to their participatory element as important. The headteacher was

very keen that these more positive aspects of so-called third world cultures be experienced by the kids, not just presented to them. That they actually get hold of ... they've had some work with steel bands for instance. So that it isn't just learning about them, it's learning through doing, it's learning through real contact (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

... it's hands on experience they're getting, a bit more practical ... rather than just reading it in a book thinking 'oh that's how they produce this batik' or 'this is how they produce this block picture', they actually

have a go. I think it's nice for them realise that they can put themselves in that situation quite easily (Interview, Mandy Carter).

Andrew McGregor and Mandy Carter articulate a pluralist approach to difference in which, given the consensual model of society on which this based, it is possible to easily transfer between cultures in order to understand difference (Fyfe 1993:46). In addition to the aims of broadening cultural awareness and participation was the presentation of the project work at the end of each term through performances in the school hall. In order for the projects to be focused, participatory and multi-subject, in the sense that pupils work on the same project in different areas of their curriculum, timetabling was organised so that different groups within the same year group would be working on the same project but in separate lessons - i.e. music, art or drama - although there were some obstacles to this and some groups did not participate in all aspects of the project (Fieldnote 6.10.95). This organisation enabled the ICSS staff to monitor the different elements on their visits. That all the pupils were working on the project simultaneously also enabled all the elements to be brought together at once, making dress rehearsals and other whole year rehearsals possible. Having outlined the organisational framework and broad aims of each of the projects, analysis will now focus on the themes and issues raised by all three.

The 'Chipko' project was first outlined to the researcher by a member of the music staff in the staffroom:



He holds a folder in front of him and explains the 17th century tale they are working on. It's a tale of a Maharaja who wants to build a new palace but is opposed by villagers who hug the trees. In the story they are killed as the trees are felled but he says that staff wouldn't have this - too gruesome and depressing (Fieldnote 6.10.95).

Contemporarily, the 'Chipko women' of the Garwhal Himalaya have become world famous for their resistance to logging companies. The movement that they subsequently formed has had a high profile but also been subject to appropriation by academics and environmentalists who seek to use it as vindication for their own agendas (e.g. Shiva 1989). In addition to the theme of cultural difference, then, was an environmental element:

There was the drama element of the Indian cultural presentation which was about, y'know, attitudes to the forest and de-forestation which I think has got potential as well (Interview, Headteacher, Meadows School).

However, the head of music was disappointed that the member of staff responsible for environmental issues - the head of geography, Susie Baker - had not got involved (Interview, Bob Lawton), although given her scepticism toward multiculturalism, this was not surprising (see chapter 7). The 'Chipko' project at the school was done by Year 8 pupils and incorporated Indian music, played by a member of ICSS, dance and drama run by the same person, and art work. The art work drew on Indian designs

presented to the pupils through clothing, pictures and design books. Along with trees made from newspaper and painted, these were used to create a large backdrop for the stage on which the dancing and story were acted out.

Like the 'Chipko' project, the 'African' project centred around a story. The ICSS project organiser introduced the African project to a group of Year 7 pupils by telling them

... that [they're] going to do African mime and dance, and reads them the 'African re-telling' of the Lord of the Dance. He says that unlike Chipko, there won't be so much speech. He also says that in Gatford they've interpreted the tale as 'Africans have forgotten their past and heritage because they've become all modern' (Fieldnote 6.3.95).

In this story, a mask is taken to symbolise the traditional and rural life of Africans. A tale is told of the move from the rural to the urban. The urban area is depicted as noisy and busy. The mask appears as a reminder to the people of their 'traditional' way of life, and they reject the city to return to their village. As with 'Chipko', there are two themes: cultural awareness; the difference between rural and urban areas in Africa. The project incorporated the same subject groups, this time with the assistance of an 'African' drummer and dancer who played for both rehearsals and the end of project performance. This was part of an intercultural festival hosted by the school which consisted of a day of performances of the work being done at Meadows School to local visiting primary schools, as well as musicians from different traditions visiting

and playing at the school. For example, during the day a Uilleann pipes player performed at the school, whilst in the evening, a Bhangra dance group, of which one of the ICSS group was a member, performed. The Fijian project played a major part in the intercultural festival, but was informed by having a pupil at the school whose mother was Fijian rather than by a story offered by ICSS. Consequently, it was thus rather more loosely defined, with work centring around South Pacific dance, making 'costumes' (primarily grass skirts) and a 'traditional' Fijian celebration ceremony. For the evening performance, a group of Tongans from the Tongan embassy visited the school to play and perform and to conduct the ceremony. Consequently, the intercultural festival sought to express intercultural values by affording space to a range of cultures simultaneously and attempting to foster dialogue between them (although in reality, an impression rather than reality of dialogue resulted).

### *Critical constructions of the 'Third World'*

Following the broad conceptual framework outlined at the start, analysis of these project's constructions of the 'Third World' will focus on the ways they question and engage with 'Third World' difference. This analysis is divided into two sections, the first exploring the way the projects validate and give meaning to Indian, African and Fijian cultures, the second exploring the Indian and African stories in terms of their construction of difference.

The very fact of undertaking cross-curricula projects centred on different areas of the world validates and celebrates their difference. The curricular time, levels of staff participation and use of outsiders shows commitment to them. In other words,



difference is made visible within the curriculum and defined as important; it is defined as 'knowledge' through its inclusion. So at one level, the very act of communicating the 'Third World' as a large part of the music, art and drama curriculum questions modernist constructions of difference in which it is marginalised. In this, a classically pluralist position is expressed in the desire to celebrate difference (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:17). Secondly, and reflecting a more critical or anti-racist stance, the contextualisation of the projects defines and explores the roots of difference; it gives it depth and shows it to be able to offer something rather than demeaning it as lesser. This is illustrated in the explanation to the pupils by Rajinder - one of the ICSS workers - of the background to the African music and dance project:

Rajinder talks about drums. He says that [in Africa they] keep the drum hung up in the centre of the house or hut. Says that in Africa and India, because it's hot, drums stay in tune whereas it's "hopeless in this country". He tells how drums need heating e.g. put in front of central heating or light a fire outside - can't do latter in this country as would have to do it the whole time.

He then tells a story about the talking drum. A lot of Africans have moved to New York. As part of him showing how the drum is talking, he says how a friend heard another friend playing his two blocks away and took him a coke as they were playing "I want a coke" as it was so hot. Teacher comments that it's cheaper than a mobile phone.

Rajinder then tells how they use plastic skins in this country now - not goat as in Africa and India - but that these can't be adjusted in the same way.

He then moves on to dancing and how disco dancing is influenced by African dance. "Hip hop you think is really new but they've probably been doing it for hundreds of years in some village".

...

In terms of the meaning of the dancing he says that the actions are because of the things that happen - for example, washing, pounding, getting things out of the well - shows arm waving and says that it could be a woman showing someone the bracelets they are wearing. He shows them a step which he says is in Indian dancing too and then says that "Africa is very big, different dances, different reasons". As examples he gives: wedding, market, warriors, fishermen, "get the rain going" (Fieldnote 6.3.96).

At one level, African culture appears to be made 'real', imbued with power and contextualised. The dominance of 'Western' cultural forms and practices is challenged in this lesson through Rajinder's description of drumming. African weather is defined as more appropriate and the materials they use can be adjusted more easily. The drumming and musical tradition are shown to be relevant in a contemporary context and to have influenced, and in a sense, preceded, particular 'Western' musical forms. The construction of African music through a filter of 'primitiveness' is not only

challenged, but the origins of ‘Western’ music are questioned. Through explaining the roots and cultural origins of the dancing, its difference is being interrogated. Rather than being constructed as deviance from a ‘Western’ norm it is shown to be a product of and reflect lifetime events. This is strengthened through explaining that the dancing happens for lots of different reasons, including weddings, which, as a reason for dancing in this country as well, is a commonality. Mandy Carter explains how she engages with the pupils’ existing ideas about difference and asks pupils to confront how they think:

MC I think probably poverty is one thing that they notice. I mean a lot of mine have said to me “do they do this because [they’re] poor?” and that kind of thing. “Why do they do things so simple?” I find it quite fascinating. That’s without me putting it into their heads it’s one of the pictures they’ve already got. Everything is ... in a sense it’s far more complicated.

MS Define something as simple not because it’s difficult...

MC Mmmm the processes. They actually develop a lot more techniques over there as well. You’ve got the hand made dyes and things like that and we’re using simplified versions ourselves that’s why I find it unusual coz I was saying to them, we’re obviously doing this in a more simple way to what they’re doing. Yet they were seeing it as more simple than what we normally do [laughs].



MS How do you explain, I mean in what context are you explaining, the sorts of art that people do, why people do that. How do you explain it to young people?...

MC It's usually I tend to go off on a bit of background and what facilities they have because they're, because I think in terms of them, they come into a classroom and they've got paints and paintbrushes, and whatever and what I tend to do is say right, this is the art room we're going to take those things away today and we're going to pretend that we are in Africa and how would you produce it as if you were in Africa. I tend to do it that way. Then they understand then that they have to replace things that they're used to, everyday things, with something else. That's the way I tend to approach it.

MS So with less, essentially

MC Yeah. or just with different things. And I ask them 'do you think this is a bit more primitive or a bit more complicated' what do you think ? (Interview, Mandy Carter).

Demonstrating her awareness of what the pupils think and the stereotypes they use in seeing difference, Mandy also reveals how she engages with this and deconstructs the idea that African art is more simple or primitive, suggesting that it is more complex. Thus, it can be seen that at one level, difference is engaged with through contextualising and rooting culture.

The stories around which the Indian and African projects centred also questioned modernist constructions of the Indian and African 'other'. In the 'Chipko' project, the introductory scene for the play was not in India but a road protest in the UK (at the time there were a number of prominent oppositions to road building in the UK, particularly at the Newbury bypass). Pupils carried banners protesting at the plans and called for the environment to be protected. The Indian story of protest then followed. Thus, the starting point of the play was the establishment of a commonality of experience between India and the UK. It is not only the Indians who are constructed as potential victims of environmental destruction, but the British, challenging the stereotypical representation of 'Third World' peoples as victims and those in the 'West' as saviours. By then showing Indian opposition to de-forestation and their brave actions in doing so, this construction is further challenged; Indians are represented as active, engaged and enlightened in their recognition of the need to protect the environment. The recounting of the Chipko story as a 'salutary' tale also constructs a situation in which the 'self' can learn from the 'other', again reversing the conventional flow of knowledge.

In the African story, urban and city based life, associated primarily with the West (for example, the explanations of African dancing above are all centred around rural issues) are challenged. Through the rejection of the bustle and unfriendliness of the city, represented in the dance and drama in the project, its construction as desirable is questioned and their rural way of life is valued. So in both stories, the construction of the 'self' and the 'Third World' 'other' are engaged with: 'Third World' people are given agency and awareness; their difference is shown to be not absolute and

undifferentiated; the lifestyle of the 'self' is questioned. It appears at one level, then, that the construction of the 'Third World' through multiculturalism at Meadows School is more questioning of difference. Spaces are defined in which the critical rhetoric of the staff is actualised. However, as in the case of charity, there is also a push and pull between different constructions of difference, informed by the multiple aims of the projects. This itself reflects a tension between different modes of engagement with difference, whether pluralist (e.g. DES 1985), anti-racist (e.g. Fyfe 1993) or critical multiculturalist (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997) and the fact that the communication of the 'Third World' through multiculturalism does not fit one of the models outlined but contains elements of all of them. To fully explore multiculturalism's construction of the 'Third World', we now turn to the ways in which it reinforces modernist constructions of difference.

### *Multiculturalism as Orientalist: tradition, modernity and exoticism*

Underlying all the different units of Orientalist discourse - by which I mean simply the vocabulary employed whenever the Orient is spoken or written about - is a set of representative figures, or tropes. These figures are to the actual Orient - or Islam, which is my main concern here - as stylised costumes are to characters in a play; they are like, for example, the cross that Everyman will carry, or the particolored costume worn by Harlequin in a *commedia dell'arte* play. In other words, we need not look for correspondence between the language used to depict the Orient and the Orient itself, not so much because the language is inaccurate but



because it is not even trying to be accurate. What it is trying to do, as Dante tried to do in the *Inferno*, is at one and the same time to characterise the Orient as alien and to incorporate it schematically on a theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are *for* Europe, and only for Europe. Hence the vacillation between the familiar and the alien; Mohammed is always the imposter (familiar, because he pretends to be like the Jesus we know) and always the Oriental (alien, because although he is in some ways “like” Jesus, he is after all not like him) (Said 1978:71).

Said identifies two themes which are pertinent to exploring the construction of the ‘Third World’ through multiculturalism at Meadows School. The music, art and drama projects at the school are, in a sense, an actualisation of the metaphor of theatre, costume and performance defined by Said, with its concomitant tension between difference and commonality - the familiar and the alien. At its broadest level, the critique of the music, art and drama projects takes Said’s analytical framework to highlight the tensions created between the different imperatives of their pursuit: performance and awareness raising. Said points out that the figures and tropes of Orientalist discourse - the costumes - do not accurately represent reality and do not aim to do so. They denote difference in a way that facilitates its appropriation. Thus, the performance element of Orientalism signifies difference; it does not aim to represent a different reality. Similarly, in the projects, the performative elements detract from a critical exploration of difference; they entertain as much as they inform. Again this fits Said’s point surrounding theatre and costume; difference is

appropriated for the 'self' and hence becomes less to do with accurate representation of a reality. To explore this we turn to three interdependent themes: decontextualisation; exoticism; the construction of a traditional/modern dichotomy. It is argued that these are at the heart of the Orientalist construction of the 'Third World' 'other' in these projects and that they reflect the tension between performance and questioning difference.

Decontextualising difference plays a key role in Orientalist constructions. The meaning of cultural acts or circumstances is lost; they simply designate difference from the 'self'. None of the projects completely decontextualise the difference with which they are engaging, but at the same time, there is a high level of generality. For example, the Africa project is not located in a specific country, as indicated by Mandy Carter, responding to a question on the background preparation for the Africa project and describing what issues she addressed:

Does anybody know where Africa is and who can tell me what it's like over there, what's the kind of population, that kind of thing, do you do anything in history about it, or geography, and is there anything significant that you know about it that kind of thing. Does anybody know what kind of art they do, then I move down to the more specific projects (Interview, Mandy Carter).

The level of background is very superficial. Although Rajinder says of Africa that it is 'very big, different dances, different reasons' (Fieldnote 6.3.96), this is as far as it

gets. There is no attempt to understand or engage with the diversity nor the meaning of the culture they are seeking to depict. The head of music, Bob Lawton, reiterates the limited degree to which the context of their projects is relevant in response to a question on whether the pupils identify the music, art and drama with the specific places:

BL I think they probably do or at least I hope they do because certainly with Africa and with, not with Fiji yet but with India, we have booklets produced for them, they see maps of the places. Now whether they know where those maps are on the globe is another question, but they know physically what the countries or continents look like.

MS That's right, I wondered if there was a definite association with those, music from ...

BL Mind you you have to bear in mind that you can show a child a map one week and the next they'll swear blind that they've never seen it before.

MS Culturally, are there particular aspects of, say Indian music, or drama and art, you want to highlight. Are there any sort of particular things that ...?

BL No. Not really. It's just a general sort of feeling of the culture and I don't think that I'd be expert enough. That's originally why we got the experts in at that time because we didn't know enough about it ourselves. And so it's just anything really ... that



creates that sort of atmosphere and the sounds from that culture.

As far as I was concerned that was the experience I wanted to create (Interview, Bob Lawton).

The head of music - and the staff member who has chief responsibility for the projects - indicates that in-depth cultural awareness and understanding were not the aims; contextualisation is restricted to physical location and maps. His perspective also fits Said's framework very well. Difference is the main aim. Although that difference is, according to Bob Lawton, to be attached to a specific country's culture, this does not seem to fit the reality in the case of the African project in particular. This project generalises dance and music across an entire continent denying a highly diverse reality, something that would perhaps not be done were the project dealing with European culture; African music is treated as if it were an identifiable and coherent genre, despite the specificities of country and region. The Indian case is similar. Whilst the headteacher at Meadows School felt that the project 'opened up a new perspective on the whole sub-continent to a lot of the kids who were involved' and involved a 'much more positive and very rich celebration of aspects of Indian culture' (Interview, Andrew McGregor) there was little contextualisation in terms of the size and diversity of India beyond stating that the people involved were Hindu, not Muslim. As Pete Southam, a music teacher, puts it, the 'cultural approach' taken in music, art and drama has 'nice ragas, drum beats' and is 'not realistic' as it 'doesn't show the reality of Africa today', although ironically, the 'reality' he refers to is a similarly problematic depiction: 'y'know, famine, disease, no water' (Fieldnote 18.12.95). As Said says, accurate representation is less the point than signifying

difference from the 'self'; Africa and India are homogenised and simplified. It is cultural difference that is the defining element, not a specific other culture. Consequently, this reinforces an undifferentiated and modernist construction of 'Third World' difference. The meaning of difference is not engaged with, there is minimal consideration of commonalities. As Rajinder puts it to Year 7 pupils:

You're gonna have to start being African - otherwise you'll give a bit of a European flavour (Fieldnote 6.3.95).

There is no engagement with the interpenetration of Africa and Europe (see Nederveen Pieterse 1994). Rajinder could take his comment on the origins of hip hop further by exploring the degree to which the pupils own musical culture is already informed by African culture but instead defines it entirely through difference.

A product of the decontextualisation and emphasis on difference in itself is the exoticisation of the 'Third World' in the projects. A member of the Central Management Team suggests this in responding to a question on the issues she thinks should be highlighted in multicultural representations:

Their [different culture's] normality and not their exoticism so they're not people who float around in sort of floaty dresses and umm, sari's, whatever it might be, and they chant strange magical sounding song, or y'know, whatever

...

there's the exotic side of sort of multicultural work that I think can be a little bit damaging in a way because that means that they're not normal... (Interview, Hilary Cox, Deputy Head, Meadows School).

Without their context, the cultures explored appear exotic; 'difference is spice', as Kincheloe and Steinberg put it (1997:42). At one level they become spectacles and entertaining because their difference is rendered mysterious and inexplicable. But as with the communication of the 'Third World' through development, the classroom strategies employed must also be seen as reflecting the substantive aims of the teaching. Thus, the emphasis on the visual, through costume, music and dance - on the tropes mentioned by Said - is not a coincidence. As one of the deputy heads points out, 'it's the "exoticism of multiculturalism" that initially attracts pupils' (Fieldnote 11.12.95), and Rajinder's comment on 'being African' reinforces this. It is here that the tension between education and awareness, and performance, is played out. Whilst the rhetoric outlines the multicultural ambitions of the projects, performance, participation and the end of project also play a key role. Again, Said's theatre and performance metaphor is relevant; the need to entertain and perform overrides representation of reality. These elements of the projects are, in a sense, like Said's theatre managers and audience; they lead to the appropriation of difference. Once the limited background work has been completed, the rest of the project centres around the completion of art work and rehearsing the dance and drama devised by the ICSS staff, as can be seen in one of Rajinder's dance rehearsals:



After then going through the dance as a whole group, Rajinder gets them to sit in a circle (i.e. where they were standing/dancing). He says - loudly - that if you are a dancer, you need more expression. He tells them that they are OK but are behind the other groups. Says, "You've got a deadline. I'm not on stage. You're the ones who are". He then parodies their glumness and lack of involvement. Says that they haven't got much dance experience so all of this is new. He then points to one girl who is directly in front of me and I can't see her face. Don't know if she was misbehaving - e.g. pulling a face or something. Very harshly he says "What's wrong with you? Why aren't you putting the effort in? You'll let the whole of Year 8 down" (Fieldnote 6.11.95).

Thus the emphasis is on technique over understanding. Black offers a useful framework within which to understand this in his characterisation of drama work in schools. He suggests that drama in schools can be expressed in two ways:

- 1      Learning *through* drama, where drama is used as a tool or vehicle or method to explore and express ideas, concepts, etc., and
- 2      Learning *in* drama, where knowledge, skills etc. are developed and which is associated with theatre activities.

(Black 1993:104)

The multicultural music, art and drama projects at Meadows School attempt to do both, but tend toward the latter. Consequently, multiculturalism has a lower priority and hence, the resulting construction of the 'Third World' suffers. So in a sense there are two tensions drawing the projects away from questioning difference. The first is the emphasis on technique, informed by the pressure of presenting work and enabling the pupils to participate; 'learning *in* drama' (Black 1993:104). Secondly, there is the seduction of the spectacle of difference; exoticism, combined with doing a performance, is exciting and enticing for the pupils. To return to Said, then, difference is appropriated for use by and for the 'self'.

Thus far, the analysis of the multicultural communication of the 'Third World' has centred around how difference is constructed and what some of the pitfalls within this have been. The aim of this concluding part of the analysis is to examine the picture of the 'Third World' that results. It will be argued that the emphasis on performance and the decontextualising of difference construct the 'self' and 'other' in terms of a modern/traditional dichotomy. Without specifically engaging with dominant constructions of difference, they continue to underpin the communication of the 'Third World'. Perhaps the starkest illustration of this is revealed in the following quotation, where the head of music is talking about the different instruments used in the projects:

So if we were doing, for example, Fiji now, I don't honestly know whether there are any specific Fijian instruments. And to be perfectly honest, other than drums and stuff, and they tend to use guitars in the

modern stuff, the Hawaiian guitar ... And that's not necessarily specifically from that country or even from that part of, yeah, from that culture. That is something that's relatively modern (Interview, Bob Lawton).

Bob Lawton separates being modern from being Fijian. Modernity is the characteristic of some music, but not that of Fiji. Fijian culture is constructed as traditional whilst the 'self' is represented as modern. The guitar is taken as a signifier of modernity and hence its use in Fijian music denotes that music as inauthentic; real Fijian culture is traditional. The possibility of Fijian music being an expression of Fijian modernity is denied. Similarly in the 'Lord of the Dance' story, the city is constructed as non-African. As Rajinder puts it regarding Gatford school's interpretation of the story:

Africans have forgotten their past and heritage because they've become all modern (Fieldnote 6.3.95).

Cities are deemed as modern and hence non-African; Africans are denied modernity. Whilst the heritage of the 'West' is becoming modern - enabling the 'self' to be both modern and not lose its heritage - that of Africa is traditional. There is no possibility that cities might be an African modernity. There is also no possibility that rural Africa can be modern since to return to tradition, in the story, the people return to the villages.



The traditional/modern dichotomy is more problematic in the 'Chipko' story. In this, the construction of the 'Third World' 'other' plays to exoticising and stereotypical representations. The maharaja in the story attempts to be highly autocratic and has servants behind him on stage wafting palm leaves to keep him cool. This fits very closely with Orientalist representations of India which emphasise opulence and feudalism. The reason this is particularly problematic is the ambiguity surrounding the historical context of the play. The start of the play - the road protest - is contemporary, whilst the play is historical. However, this is subservient to the environmental message. That the representation is historical is less than prominent, leading to its potential interpretation as a contemporary representation of India. Because the 'Third World' is constructed as traditional - not modern - and there is no detailed discussion of contemporary India and the ways it has changed, the representation in the play becomes timeless; it defines what and how India is.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter has shown that there is a push and pull between multicultural constructions of the 'Third World' in the curriculum of Meadows School. The preceding section demonstrated this in terms of tensions within the multicultural music, art and drama projects in the school. Mirroring the exploration of charity at Cardinal James School in which fundraising constrained education, the emphasis on performance and celebration in the multicultural music, art and drama projects constrained contextualisation and hence, understanding and critical engagement with difference. It could be argued that the music, art and drama activities analysed, despite

good intentions, represent a case of 'weak' multiculturalism which succumbs too readily to 'voyeuristic imperatives' (Troyna 1992:70). Existing literature recognises the broader consequences of this for pupils' understanding of difference, particularly racial difference. This chapter has demonstrated its consequences in terms of the construction of the 'Third World'. The aim of this concluding section is to suggest that, using examples from R.E. and history, the school's multiculturalism is not confined to spectacle. It is also suggested that in each, the privileging of context and explanation produces a more engaged and critical awareness of difference, reflecting a rather different understanding of multiculturalism.

I would say that the third world which is neglected at the moment is neglected because we are so eurocentric, so wrapped up in our own society and similar societies (Interview, Jim Roberts, Head of History, Meadows School).

Jim Roberts defines the curricular norm as ethnocentric with the communication of the 'Third World' as an attempt to counteract this:

I think one thing which are very careful of when we teach Islamic civilisations is that we teach it from the point of view that here historically is a civilisation, a religion, a culture which at one time was clearly well in advance of other cultures and civilisations in the west and we try and exercise that ... to give students an understanding of alternative cultures and societies and that the culture and society they

live in at the moment is not necessarily intrinsically the best or the most advanced, or whatever. We also tend to emphasise what Islamic civilisation has given to us and which remains with us still today. And that's quite difficult because students are not too, especially in this area, are not too responsive to that in an area where you know I imagine we've got we might possibly have one Muslim in the entire school (Interview, Jim Roberts).

Modernist constructions of difference are challenged by questioning the way Islamic civilisation is viewed in relation to that of the 'West' and in particular, by challenging the history of that society as defined by the 'West'. The basic premises of modernisation theory are questioned firstly by suggesting that 'advanced' is not synonymous with 'Western' and secondly by noting that the flow of knowledge between nations is not always from the 'West' to the 'Third World' but vice versa. In a sense, the 'subjugated history' (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:51) of Islam is being explored as means to question the version of the world defined through 'Western' histories. The understanding and critical engagement defined by the head of department was not simply well-informed rhetoric but was an explicitly stated and central element of the work on Islamic Civilisations. For example, the first week of the unit addressed 'pre-conceptions' and 'Images of Islam', with the following activities being suggested in the department's scheme of work for the unit:

Connecting empires:- what has Western Europe learned from the Middle East? (Borrowed words and numbers is a good start). Provide a



timeline A.D. 600 - A.D.1500 ... Brainstorm/class discussion on popular images of Islam from the media and even R.E. lessons.

The fifth element of the scheme of work requires that pupils explore 'Living in an Islamic Society', examining the 'concepts' of 'city, rich and poor, health, travel, trade', whilst the final element of the scheme of work addresses 'The Crusades' and focuses around the following concepts: 'Invasion or Crusade? Jihad, enemies, opponents, comparison, holy land'. The explicitly critical focus of the scheme of work is reflected in the reality of its implementation in the classroom as seen in a history lesson with Year 7 pupils being taught by Sarah Giles, a young member of the history department, focusing on a market in an Islamic city in order to explore some of the ways markets were ruled in the past:

Sarah tells the class they are going to look at market rules and then asks about Muslim women. Pupil says that they had to dress modestly. Sarah then asks about the role of women and a pupil says that they had to look after the children, etc. Sarah says that she was at a wedding last week and he made a lot of fuss about the same things as well. She then asks them about the women in Baghdad and pupils demonstrate their knowledge that in the houses in Baghdad, windows had screens and the face the courtyard. Therefore, you basically establish that women [are] kept indoors (Fieldnote 27.6.96).

Sarah Giles draws on a commonly held assumption about stereotypes of Islam in relation to women's roles, but draws a comparison with the role of women in the UK to challenge the starkness of this construction of difference. In relation to blood letting, which is also depicted in the picture, Sarah Giles comments that

“Muslims were extremely advanced in medicine” and says that a lot of medieval ideas about medicine came from the Muslims (Fieldnote 27.6.96).

The assumption of ‘Western’ pre-eminence enshrined within modernisation discourses is challenged. So whilst the geography staff at Cardinal James School identified the possibility of teaching development in a different way - but did not do so - in this case, a space is found for an alternative version. Finally, with respect to teaching Islamic civilisations, the emphasis in the activities is on explanation and active participation by the pupils. For example, the pupils are told that they have to consider the rules for the market and group them under three categories which are familiar to them: food and hygiene; fairness; women. The pupils then have to write a letter to the person responsible for the market as if they had been an inspector reporting on the state of the market. Thus, Islamic society is represented as ordered and understandable in contrast to dominant constructions of Islam as fundamentalist and irrational (Said 1981). In contrast to the multicultural activities explored earlier, pupils engage with difference, thinking around difference rather than taking difference for granted. Through the activities analysed here, hierarchical constructions of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ are questioned. Reflecting a ‘critical multiculturalist’ perspective

(Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997), there is a recognition of alternative histories and flows of knowledge and importantly, emphasis is on contextualising and explaining difference as a product of particular circumstances. In this example, multiculturalism is not a separate activity but is integrated with the aims of the history curriculum. This can also be seen in the R.E. department in their synthesis of the school's multiculturalism and the issue of charity, overcoming the stark construction of difference through reflexivity in doing project work on Poverty with Year 9 pupils. As the R.E. teacher responsible for teaching the unit on poverty comments,

... we try and compare I suppose you would say relative and absolute poverty. In terms of the second piece of work that they do they're asked to almost write a case study of poverty in this country and where it occurs and what causes it etc. and the results and compare it with places in the third world . So they will know I would hope they would know the terms relative and absolute poverty and be able to see the difference between them. So that's sort of the nub if you like of the second unit and then the third one is aid to developing countries in terms of emergency aid and long term aid. But within that, having said that they're asked to do those but they can go away and do them in whatever way they wish to develop. I mean the last one for example we just say you need to do something about emergency aid something about long-term aid and then they can do it as they wish or through one charity. I mean a lot of head off to Oxfam or wherever and get the handouts you know [laughs] (Interview, Joy Freeman).



Pupils engage with the advantages they have, and yet the 'self' is also questioned through the recognition that poverty is not the sole territory of the 'Third World'; it is a common experience. Poverty is not just taken as a signifier of difference but is explored in the classroom activities and project work as a complex and contextual matter. Similarly, responses to poverty are not taken 'as given' but also contextualised, through a consideration of the meaning and forms of aid, and, linked to the multicultural approach within the school, through consideration of the differences and similarities between 'what religions have to say about' poverty (Interview, Jenny Patricks). Thus, religious difference is not defined in the lessons in terms of fixed associations with levels of poverty or wealth. Thus, Hinduism is not a 'Third World' and hence victim religion and thus subservient to Christianity. It too is benevolent.

In these last two examples, multiculturalism is used to enrich and deepen existing work in the curriculum. Difference is not taken as the starting point, but as a key factor which needs to be engaged with as part of educating. Central to this is the synthesis of multiculturalism and existing subject aims. In the latter examples this is successful; the difficulties that arise with the communication of the 'Third World' through music, art and drama is the failure to integrate consideration to difference:

Diversity becomes intrinsically valuable and is pursued for its own sake to the point that difference is exoticised and fetishized (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997:15).

The exoticising and fetishizing of difference within some multicultural constructions has important parallels with the emphasis on 'seeing' in the construction of the 'Third World' through 'development' and 'charity'. The identification of this commonality, and the challenges presented by the history and R.E. departments at Meadows School, draws together conceptualisation of the construction of the 'Third World' through development, charity and multiculturalism. Just as the epistemology of development and charity is centred around being able to see development and hence difference, the multiculturalism of the music, art and drama departments also centres around being able to see difference. The imperatives of order and caring match those of entertainment and spectacle. The emphasis is on looking out at difference and the position from which the looking takes place is not engaged with. Ironically, this, along with the data from the history and R.E. departments, points to the need to focus explicitly on the 'self' in communicating the 'Third World'. In both examples from the history and the R.E. departments, preconceptions about the 'self' and the 'other' are explicitly targeted whereas in the case of the music, art and drama departments, the focus is less clearly defined. Whilst they may offer critical engagements with 'Third World' difference, this becomes, in a sense, incidental. At the same time - and given the eurocentric and time-constrained context of the curriculum - it must be remembered that through recognitions of difference, and the challenging elements of some of the multicultural work, Meadows School does succeed, to some extent, in questioning modernist constructions of difference. As with the communication of the 'Third World' through charity, the context of some of the representations constrains this possibility. Performance, excitement and participation work against awareness and understanding in the music, art and drama projects. Although the 'truth' that is

constructed in each school - the discourses of 'Third World' difference that are actualised - is complex and contradictory, it is nonetheless the case that Meadows School has identified and is seeking to develop spaces in which 'Third World' difference is engaged with, whereas Cardinal James School's approach remains tied to charity and development and the strait-jacket this imposes. The aim of the next chapter is to explore why this is the case.



## CHAPTER 7

# **SCHOOL IDENTITY, STRUCTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS: PRODUCING THE ‘THIRD WORLD’ LOCALLY**

I hope I’m not deluding myself when I think that the staff here by and large, have got a strong liberal, global feel (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Headteacher Meadows School).

... because of being a Catholic school we’ve got certain sort of things we have to cover in certain ways. We have to cover things that are sort of part of that (Interview, Kate Carter, Deputy Head, Cardinal James School).

Despite being subject to the same National Curriculum requirements and articulating similar rhetoric on the potential roles of the ‘Third World’ in the curriculum, Cardinal James School and Meadows School produced contrasting constructions of the ‘Third World’. This reflects Ball and Bowe’s claim in relation to delivering the National Curriculum that, despite the

assumption of commonality, even sameness, among schools, that all are equally able to respond, equally prepared, equally resourced ... the National Curriculum remains both the object and subject of struggles over meaning. It is not so much being 'implemented' in schools, not so much 'reproduced' as 'produced'. While schools are changing so too is the National Curriculum. This leaves us with a strong feeling that the state control model is analytically very limited. Our empirical data do not suggest that the State is *without* power. But equally it indicates such power is strongly circumscribed by the contextual features of institutions, over which the State may find that control is both problematic and contradictory in terms of other political projects (Ball and Bowe 1992:120).

As individual schools define policy, attention to the local and to the micro-politics of education is crucial. This chapter focuses on the local production of the school curriculum to explore why the two schools communicated the 'Third World' differently. Treating the rhetoric on the potential curricular roles of the 'Third World' as if it were a policy statement, then just as the reality of the National Curriculum is locally defined, so too is the reality of the 'Third World' in the curriculum; what becomes real in each school is informed by a variety of factors specific to that school. Consequently, the emphasis here is on the particularity of each school as it informs the communication of the 'Third World'. In conceptual terms, this amounts to an

exploration of the power relations that define what becomes knowledge of the 'Third World' in the curriculum:

Decision making is not an abstract rational process which can be plotted on an organisational chart; it is a political process, it is the stuff of micro-political activity (Ball 1987:26).

A concept frequently referred to in discussions of the particularities of institutions such as schools is ethos. However, the problem - and in a sense, the strength - of the concept, is a lack of clarity around its meaning. For example, Geertz defines it in relation to cultural studies in the following way:

A people's ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects (Geertz 1973:127).

As a concept, ethos lacks specificity; it is hard to define, measure and delineate its constituent parts. Thus, a school's ethos is its atmosphere and what it 'feels' like but this is difficult to pinpoint. It is informed by the school's aims, its organisation, its rules and the interactions between the members of the school (for further discussions of ethos in schools see McClaren 1993; Rutter et. al. 1979; Tritter 1989). At the same time, it is informed by external players, such as the local authority, the external social and political context (both at local and national level), as well as national policy directives (Tritter 1989:43-47). This excludes little, but what is important is the



interaction of factors whose configuration is specific to each school and hence, constitutes the particularity of each school's ethos. At one level, ethos could be said to be akin to ethnography, with its openness failing to provide focus and specificity yet at the same time reflecting an inclusiveness which enables an open minded and flexible approach to understanding particular situations. Rather than become ensnared in the ambiguity and complexity surrounding the definition of ethos, this chapter addresses the relationship between school ethos and the communication of the 'Third World' through the three factors which most clearly inform curriculum content and, particularly, the communication of the 'Third World': the educational aims and identities of the schools; organisation and communications within the schools; the National Curriculum. Ethos is useful in the sense that it frames the factors informing the communication of the 'Third World' within a broad understanding that the school curriculum is defined by a range of interdependent and sometimes imprecise factors. Indeed, the themes which this chapter addresses are interdependent, but they are considered in isolation for the sake of analytical clarity. The chapter is divided into three sections. In the first, the contrasting aims and identities of the two schools are outlined and explored in relation to the communication of the 'Third World'. The second section addresses the association between the 'Third World' in the curriculum and school structure and communications. The third analyses the relationship between school ethos and national policy and the ways this informs the contradictory constructions of the 'Third World' in Meadows School curriculum.

*School identity: framing the communication of the 'Third World'.*

Although staff in both schools identified similar potential roles for the 'Third World' in their curriculum, the aims and identities of each school were different. This section demonstrates the ways these inform the schools' differing emphases in communicating the 'Third World'. This is not to say that these in themselves defined the contrast, but that they played an important part as the framework into which the communication of the 'Third World' would fit.

Andrew McGregor, the headteacher at Meadows School, defines the 'international perspective' of the school's aims as,

partly a response to the somewhat provincial nature of our catchment area, which is obviously monocultural, or virtually monocultural, and our sense that many of these kids will be moving from a monocultural home background and school background to a multicultural working and adult background. So I think we've got a big responsibility there. And I think it's also partly to do with our sense that y'know, not just in terms of the curriculum but in terms of producing young people and citizens that wherever we were that such an international dimension would be important. Not just because it's a necessary contrast (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

As explained in the last chapter, the headteacher defines the society on which the purpose of education at the school is premised as a multicultural society, with pupils'

futures viewed as probably taking place within a multicultural context. At the same time, he also suggests that an international dimension is inherently important whatever the location. This statement encapsulates the Swann Report's definition of Britain as a multicultural society, attaching importance to learning about difference as preparation for being part of that society, arguing that everyone should have multicultural education and claiming importance for international education (DES 1985). This is reiterated by the head of R.E., Jenny Patricks, who suggests that the school's multiculturalism is

quite surprising given where we are. People are often quite surprised to come into a school out in the white highlands as they sometimes call us, to find that we do have this other sort of stuff that's going on in the music and drama departments. But you see the argument that we got, this does stem back to the Commission for Racial Equality, is that you need it more because a lot of prejudice is based on ignorance and if you are ignorant on a day to day basis of people's lifestyle then you have to ... I suppose you could call it compensatory education in a way. I often tell our youngsters that they are deprived in one sense in that they don't have day to day contact of living with people of other races. And for many of them who go off to university or out to work, [they] are going to meet people. And some of them for instance have brought me a Sikh wedding invitation coz their dad works with a Sikh and the parents have been invited to the wedding. So you know, although we are in a white area, because of the geographical position of Meadows School, most



people go out to work to areas, where unless they go in a Belford direction, they probably meet more people (Interview, Jenny Patricks).

Again, consciousness of the school's location is indicated, and its multicultural education is seen as a response to this: 'compensatory education'. One of the roles of education is seen as preparing young people for adult life in a multicultural world and it is recognised that Meadows School is situated in an area which is unusual in its lack of non-whites. Jim Roberts, the head of history goes further than this in responding to a question on whether the type of school Meadows School is, affects the content of the curriculum:

Well, I mean [to] say if there was any reason that if the type of school did [have] any effect upon it [the curriculum], [it] would be that we are so removed from anything other than white people and Protestant religion and er - do y'know what I mean? - very sort of rural middle-England that a dose of Islamic civilisation will do them a lot of good, perhaps widen their horizons a bit. We could have done, for example, American native Indians, on North America, which I'm sure the students would have loved, um but we felt that y' know was this strictly relevant and would they in the long term would it be as valuable as doing Islamic civilisations. We felt Islamic civilisations very very important (Interview, Jim Roberts).

Here a direct link between the school location and curriculum content is identified. Faced with a range of options in the statutory orders in the National Curriculum, a decision is taken based on a critical assessment of the locality of the school and the biases inherent in the pupils' viewpoint. The aims of both the whole school, as expressed by the headteacher and in the school aim statement, and those of individual teachers, are defined in relation to the location of the school and its perceived monoculturalism. Meadows School is defined in terms of its lack of difference in a world in which engagement with difference is fundamentally important, both at a local level and internationally, as the headteacher puts it (Interview, Andrew McGregor). By defining the educational aims of the school in response to this, a framework is defined within which critical engagements with the 'Third World' can fit. The recognition of difference as an important educational factor provides a commonality with communicating discourses of 'Third World' difference; there is in a sense an ideological match between school identity and communicating critical constructions of the 'Third World'.

In contrast to Meadows School, Cardinal James School's identity did not afford common ground and hence, curricular space, in which to critically engage with 'Third World' difference. Pivotal to this was the relationship between the school curriculum and the Catholic identity of the school:

One of the most central features of the contemporary Catholic school is a concern with its precise identity (McLaughlin et. al. 1996a:14).

With its ongoing debates over the extent to which Catholicism should inform the school's activities, the rationale and practice of its teaching methods, and its high intake of non-Catholic pupils, events at Cardinal James School encapsulated some of the key contemporary debates around the relationship between Catholicism and education (for examples see McClaren 1993; McLaughlin et. al. 1996). However, the emphasis here is on the relations between the Catholicism of Cardinal James School and the communication of the 'Third World', not the degree to which Catholicism conforms to or challenges current debates in this area.

Rhetorically, staff identified Catholicism as an important factor informing both the curriculum and the communication of the 'Third World'. Like the possibilities articulated for the inclusion of the 'Third World', staff outlined a range of ways that Catholicism informs the school. For another example, Burgess notes in his study of Bishop McGregor that

religion was therefore used as a focus for school and house activities and also to present ideas about the school, standards of work and relationships with fellow pupils (Burgess 1983:78).

The Catholicism of Cardinal James School is enshrined in an 'ethos statement' (Interview, Principal) and it was to this that staff often referred when discussing the factors that inform the Cardinal James School curriculum. For example, responding to a question on whether there are specific things about the school that inform the curriculum, the principal believed that:



... there are things like that about the school as I say, the ethos, the fact that we have a very open commitment as Catholics ... (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

The communication of the 'Third World' was then linked to the Catholic informed elements of the school curriculum. Reflecting the different roles of the 'Third World' in the curriculum this focused on different themes, tied, if loosely, to aspects of Catholicism. As Kate Carter, one of the deputy heads, commented, in response to a question on the factors that inform the content of the curriculum:

KC I should say the Catholic aspect. You know that will ...

MS Is there a school ethos that might impact on how the third world would be ...?

KC Yes yes. Have you seen our ethos statement? ... There's a whole bit about valuing people as individuals no matter what their religion, background... (Interview, Kate Carter).

A similar focus is offered by the head of geography who elaborates further on the role of the ethos in relation to the 'Third World', and in doing so emphasises the interpretation of Catholicism as being concerned with valuing others:

Well I think it's [the 'Third World's'] significant in Cardinal James School because of the ethos of the school. Thinking about people as

individuals but also the individual within a community. And then community as part of the whole, everybody and everything, and therefore it's particularly important to understand people in different situations and how other people's lifestyles are different to ours. I think it's because of the, it's the tolerance bit, right? And the more you know about different people or different ways of life, reasons for things being the way they are, I think, the more tolerant people are. Because they understand better. And therefore I think it fits into Cardinal James School particularly well. But it's, it's part of, I mean, it's part of theology in particular. It's not just understanding people's religions. It's understanding other people's ways of life and that we are not all the same and that there are differences, and the reasons for the differences, whatever they are. Linked to culture, linked to religions, linked to geography, the geography of a country. And going way way back so... (Interview, Anne Church).

Anne Church relates the school ethos to theology and religion. In the latter two quotations, the school's Catholicism is defined as providing a base for engagements with difference, although in the last, the emphasis on tolerance also suggests limits to the level of engagement with understandings of the 'self' and the 'other'. Both quotations reflect debates around Catholic education in which there have been attempts to define an open and inclusive relationship with other religions and cultures (Hypher 1996). Related to this, the notion of community is also perceived to be of

central importance to the relationship between Catholicism and education (Groome 1996:114), as indicated by the principal:

What I would like to see developing is the idea of small world community and then branching out into the wider world. I think that's important for us not just as people, but as a group of people who claim to be Catholic and inspired by gospel values (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).

The notion of community within Catholic education, Groome claims, combines the idea that we have 'a natural affinity for relationship and are capable of the "right relationship" with others', and the necessity for Christians to participate actively in a Christian community (Groome 1996:114). Consequently, it is tied in with ideas of the importance and nature of relations with others, and linked to that, the importance of 'social responsibility' (Groome 1996:116) and promoting the 'common good' (Bryk et. al. 1993). As a result, this dimension of Catholicism is relevant to considering the communication of the 'Third World' since it defines a space for consideration of either the role of the 'self' in the development of the 'other', or more broadly, the relationship between the 'self' and the 'other'. As the principal puts it:

I suppose there's a number of third world countries that are Catholic so you know there's .. like the Philippines .... (Interview, Jennifer Whelan).



The centring of Cardinal James School's identity around Catholicism appears to provide a framework for engagements with difference through engendering a sense of global community and through tolerance of others (though this is a problematic approach - see chapter 3 and Bauman 1992:xiv), in addition to fostering an awareness of, and responsibility toward, disadvantage. However, just as the rhetoric of the roles of the 'Third World' did not match the reality, there may also be a contrast between the rhetoric on the influence of the school's Catholicism, and its curricular reality.

Whilst a strong and inclusive Catholic identity was defined as being able afford spaces in which critical constructions of the 'Third World' could be articulated, the reality of Cardinal James School's Catholicism was rather different. A large element of this centred around the perception of what it means to be a Catholic school (see, for example, Hypher 1996:224, on Catholic schools in 'mission' countries). In terms of worship, the role of Catholicism at Cardinal James was problematic, in contrast to the central role it played in assemblies at Bishop McGregor (Burgess 1983:42). For example, one group of Year 9 pupils (who had been at the school over a year) needed to be told where the school chapel was on one occasion (Fieldnote 7.11.95). That there were varying perceptions of the degree to which the school was Catholic is illustrated in the following fieldnote:

Jane [the classroom assistant] mentions the fact that Helen travels from south of Belford every day because her parents are Catholic and hints that the school is not very Catholic anyway (Fieldnote 3.10.95).

Whilst some parents might see the school as Catholic, this is not the perception of all of the staff. For example, an art teacher, speaking in the staffroom, describes how Cardinal James School is seen as a 'special needs' school:

She says that the school down the road is GM and that as a result they can take lots of kids of high ability. "We've had it said of us that we're a special needs school. Parents are choosing us on those grounds" (Fieldnote 14.11.95).

Kate Carter, a deputy head, goes some way to explaining some of the ambiguity and confusion around the identity of the school:

I think we are a more unusual Catholic school. I know I did my teacher training in Birmingham and Catholic schools attracted West Indian, particularly Muslim families because they were seen as being quite strict (Interview, Kate Carter, Deputy Head).

That the pupils refer to staff by their first names, there is emphasis on free and open discussion and there is a minimal code of discipline and no school uniform, is seen by Kate Carter as atypical for a Catholic school. But on the other hand, it could be argued that this represent the school's Catholicism. As Groome says:

commitment to community advises a pedagogy grounded in relationship, and marked by participation, by conversation and co-

operation Teaching styles that reflect domination passivity, monologue, and competition would be antithetical to this communal commitment (Groome 1996:116).

Thus, the liberal teaching methods must be seen as central to the school's Catholicism. But if this is the case, this still presents a problem regarding its strength and influence in the school. The arrival of the new principal and her demand to not be referred to by her first name but as 'Mrs Whelan' would seem to run directly counter to the liberal Catholic tradition of the school. Secondly, it is thought by some staff that this distinctive element of the school has changed (Interviews, Deputy Head and Past Deputy Head):

There was more an atmosphere in the school where they were encouraged to do that and they had things like theology and so on where they got the opportunity to do that and were more used to it in a way that was more constructive (Interview, Mick Brown, Past Deputy Head).

If this element of the school's identity is being diluted, and the degree to which Catholic worship plays a role in the curriculum is minimal, then the school's Catholicism must be seen to be somewhat ambiguous and weakened. Consequently, the role of Catholicism in informing the curriculum is complex. As a result, rather than defining spaces for critical constructions of the 'Third World', the school's weakened Catholicism constrained the articulation of such spaces.



That multiculturalism was minimal in the curriculum reflects the constraining influence of the school's Catholicism. The relationship between Catholic education and religious, ethnic and cultural diversity has recently been subject to increasing debate with the Commission for Racial Equality's interpretation of the Swann report (DES 1985) questioning the existence of, and state support for, religious schools in a multi-racial society (Hypher 1996,219; CRE 1990). Despite claims that Catholic schools should be concerned with issues of justice and responsibility, particularly in relation to its notion of community, there is not a 'coherent educational policy' (Hypher 1996:218) to guide Catholic schools in this area. At one level, this is because, according to Hypher, there is a lack of information on current admissions and multi-faith teaching in Catholic schools to guide policy formulation (Hypher 1996:218). But it is also due to the complexity of the problem being faced, with the broader perspectives on Catholic education which argue for inclusiveness and commitment to social justice contrasting with those perspectives which posit engendering Catholic values and Catholic religious practice as centrally important. Paradoxically, given the apparent weakness of the latter perspective in guiding Cardinal James School, it is this position that appears to inform the lack of multiculturalism in the school:

Well I suppose, I may be completely wrong here now, in [a] sense because it's a Catholic school I think in theology they have tended to perhaps concentrate quite a bit on Catholicism whereas in my sort of previous schools, RE has obviously brought in other religions like Islam, Hinduism and so on. And I think if you're opening it out in that

way, that that's always helpful. It's easy to bring in third world. But that might just be my ignorance of what goes on in theology. But I think there is a big emph, there's supposed to be this emphasis upon you know, Catholicism ... (Interview, Susan Porter, Head of History).

Although Susan Porter indicates her uncertainty, her own 'data' seem to confirm that knowledge of different religions is constrained within the curriculum and that this is partly due to the influence of Catholicism on the breadth of theology teaching in the school. This is stated more explicitly in relation to the previous schools in which she has taught:

SP ... the last school I was in was a church of England school and they did look at all religions and they went out to visit mosques and Hindu temples and all the rest of it so the children knew a lot. In my school that I was at before that we taught history and R.E. in the history department and we did Islam before we did the crusades. So we brought in the major religions in that way. So that was quite nice. Quite useful. Here it doesn't happen. It doesn't happen here.

MS And is that basically school policy?

SP I presume it's a, yes. In my first my school as I've said we were a history and RE department whereas here they are quite separate (Interview, Susan Porter).

Similar evidence is also offered in relation to the history department. Susan Porter points to the National Curriculum as one of the reasons for the limited inclusion of the 'Third World' in the curriculum:

I would have thought that it was probably significant in an area like geography umm but I suppose if you're looking at our own curriculum, you know because of the focus, just due to National Curriculum really, the third world doesn't come into it all that much ... We are going to be doing Crusades as I told you. This is something new because we're only getting year 7 coming in, I mean we have had the one or two groups but in the past they've never done that. So there's no reason why we can't have a few lessons on Islam to begin with. In fact I would see that as a starting point. I don't think you could do the crusades without actually doing something on Islam. But that has not happened yet. That will happen (Interview, Susan Porter).

Whilst at Meadows School, Islam is taken as a key theme, in this context it forms the background to study of the Crusades; the school's Catholicism informs the emphasis on a Christian theme. Although the history department does cover the 'Third World' via slavery, when 'traditional African societies' (Interview, Head of History) are covered, addressing 'eurocentrism', to use the principal's words (Interview), is less of a priority.



In addition to constraining multiculturalism, the school's Catholicism does provide a framework into which the construction of the 'Third World' through charity fits very easily. Caring was identified as a desirable value to transmit to pupils at Cardinal James School and, as chapter 5 indicated, charity formed an important prism through which the 'Third World' was communicated at the school. Caring and compassion are intimately bound up with Catholic education, through the notions of community and serving the 'common good'. However, as Hollenbach puts it,

the linkage of solidarity and commitment to the common good with the demands of Christian charity should not be mistaken as limiting this virtue to the domain of affectivity (Hollenbach 1996:97).

Despite the potential to explore 'the reality of human interdependence' (Hollenbach 1996:97) from within Catholic notions of community, it is reduced, at Cardinal James School, to 'a feeling of vague compassion or shallow distress at the misfortunes of so many people both near and far' (Hollenbach 1996:97). The focus on charity is a product of the intersection between a diluted Catholicism, with an emphasis on compassion in tact, and that 'Third World' charities have established links with education. The two themes of constraining multiculturalism and providing a framework into which the construction of the 'Third World' through charity, fits, reflects an insecure Catholicism, itself a product of the confusion over school identity. This then limits the degree to which dominant constructions of 'Third World' difference are challenged. At the same time, and interdependent with that confusion, the structure and organisation of the schools inform the articulation of their

educational identities. Thus, to understand the interaction between school identity and the communication of the 'Third World' more fully, we need to turn to school organisation and structure.

### *Organisation, communications and critical discourses of difference*

Playing a key role in the translation of rhetoric into curricular reality are the organisation and structuring of the school and its curriculum. Organisation and communications at Cardinal James School played a role in defining the school's Catholicism and hence, the construction of the 'Third World' in the school. In particular, a mismatch between rhetoric and curricular context informed a strong contrast between the rhetoric of a range of potential roles for the 'Third World' and the reality of the emphasis on charity and development. On the other hand, the educational aims at Meadows School were matched by a structuring and organisation of the curriculum which diminished the gap between rhetoric and reality. Although the reality may have been problematic, spaces were articulated within the curriculum which attempted to engage with difference, unlike at Cardinal James School. However, it is also the case that whatever the ambitions or incentives centring around the educational identity of the school, there were also limitations to the authority of those seeking to promote those aims. The final part of this section explores these in relation to the elements of the Meadows curriculum that contradict its educational identity. Underlying this section is the argument that to introduce unsettling and complex considerations of difference is a difficult task for teachers and management teams. Firstly, the school curriculum and teachers' time are increasingly pressured, making it difficult to find additional curricular space and time for aims beyond

satisfaction of the National Curriculum requirements. Secondly, much existing curricular knowledge is couched in terms which deny space to critical engagements with difference.

### *Cardinal James School*

The interrelationship of Cardinal James School's identity and its structure and organisation informed the school's emphasis on charity. In particular, the state of the theology department was pivotal. The theology department had a range of roles within the school. At one level, it was expected to explore issues such as poverty and justice (Interview, Fiona Bamford, Acting Head of Theology). At the same time, it was also the focus for religion. However, and as has been commented on, the theology department was going through a difficult period, weakening the locus of religious instruction. This affected the communication of the 'Third World' since it was within theology that some staff expected much of it to take place. For example, Anne Church, the head of geography, justified what was taught in geography in relation to what is taught in theology:

[I] Don't want to get onto into, issues, particularly race and apartheid and those sort of things ... I won't fight shy of them I will say look we can discuss this [at] a different time. Try and stick with ... whatever it is we're doing ... Because otherwise it just ends up as ... an argument on principles and this sort of thing ... Now all of that side of it is talked about in theology a lot (Interview, Anne Church).



Fiona Bamford, the acting head of theology also comments that:

It [the 'Third World'] comes into the Year 9 R.E. program and particularly ... about this time of year the R.E. syllabus should be onto poverty and justice issues. And they certainly in the past have worked at that same time on sort of a project of some kind that enacted the difficulties of poor countries in, you know, creating things, it being part of the economy of the world (Interview, Fiona Bamford).

However, the challenging work of engaging with critical discourses of difference was replaced by a focus on charity. During the time spent in the theology department, arrangements were made to observe Year 9 pupils covering 'Poverty' but this was cancelled and the issue was not covered. Thus, the weakness of theology is both a product of and reproduces the difficulties over the school identity explored in the preceding section, informing a less critical communication of the 'Third World'.

The effects of theology's disarray are reinforced not only by the uncertainty over the school's educational identity, but the weak communications and organisation of the school. This was partly informed by the fact that the school was split into two sites, making communications and administration difficult and weakening the degree to which the school could be run and act as a single unit. At the heart of the lack of cohesion and unity was a lack of knowledge and awareness of what was taking place in the curriculum. The acting head of theology links the contrast between the rhetoric and reality of the teaching of the 'Third World' to communication in the school:

MS The first question I'm really interested in is whether you consider the 'Third World' to be a significant part of the Cardinal James School curriculum?

FB Yes. I certainly think it ought to be. I think probably there isn't enough as yet, real understanding of the cross curricular aspect of that and understanding of other departments and what they do, by all of us. So I think that we're probably really a little bit weak on really mapping across what we do and being aware of what other people do (Interview, Fiona Bamford).

Focusing on the cross-curricula potential of the communication of the 'Third World', Fiona Bamford identifies weak communications in the school as a key constraint upon constructing a more important role for the 'Third World' in the curriculum. The problem at the heart of this is not 'being aware of what other people do.' This not only has implications for cross-curricula linking, but for assessing the degree to which the curriculum is matching the school's aims and identity. For example, whilst Kate Carter, one of the deputy heads, was in favour of a more prominent role for the 'Third World' in the curriculum, felt that this had relevance due to the school's Catholicism and was head of personal and social education, she was also unsure

how far CAFOD actually operates in schools, which is the [uncertain] Catholic fund for .. whatever (Interview, Kate Carter).

Lack of awareness and the stark contrast between rhetoric and reality must be located in relation to the school's communications and the organisation of its curriculum. The ambiguities around the school's Catholicism inform, and are informed by, the structure and organisation of the school, limiting the articulation of spaces within which critical constructions of the 'Third World' can be communicated.

### *Meadows School*

Whilst to some extent the articulation of spaces for more critical engagements with difference is a result of individual staff member's predilections, the management and communications at Meadows School played a key role. Without a curriculum structured and managed in a way that enabled such activities, such staff interests would be stifled. Paradoxically, it is Meadows School's formality and controlled curriculum that produces a more 'liberal' representation of the 'Third World'. At the same time, it also encompasses starker contradiction than Cardinal James School, between the multicultural teaching of Islamic civilisations in history and the patronising construction of the Maasai in geography. Thus, we begin by recapping on the importance of formality and authority within the school. We then consider the key role played by the Central Management Team (CMT) in pursuing the school's 'multicultural' and 'international' aims.

Formality and discipline are a prominent element of Meadows School's presentation of itself and its internal operation (see chapter 2). The importance, prominence and visibility of authority to pupils is not only reflected in the formalities of uniform and standing up when an adult enters a classroom. The headteacher, during times when



large numbers of pupils are moving around the school, stands in the middle of the main corridor junction in the school, watching the pupils as they move around the school but, more importantly, being seen by them to be watching (Fieldnote 6.10.95). This ordered and formal ethos stands in interesting juxtaposition to the relaxed and 'fun' nature of the intercultural festival in which the headteacher and head of music both donned 'grass skirts' for the evenings (Interview, Andrew McGregor). But, as Jill Redmond, a drama and English teacher suggests:

Innovation is possible in the school due to the strict formality of it. She thinks there isn't a unified approach in school but that there is in terms of rules and process - i.e. uniform, strict control. She says that the reputation of the school very much rests on that image and that the school is aware of having lost a set of bright kids to Belford grammar (Fieldnote 9.10.96).

The argument, then, is that the formality of the school enables the articulation of spaces for critical engagements with difference. We have touched briefly on the formality and discipline of the pupils, but of key importance in the context of the communication of the 'Third World' is the role of formality and discipline in the operation of the school and the definition of the curriculum. Whilst both forms of discipline are, in a sense, part of the same 'disciplinary' ethos, they are delineated here in order to focus specifically on curriculum content.

The Central Management Team, made up of the headteacher and deputy heads, play the central and defining role in enabling multicultural constructions of 'Third World' difference. They support, promote and encourage multicultural perspectives within the curriculum, and attempt to ensure some degree of curricular unity and cohesion through their management of communications and awareness of the content of the school curriculum. Members of the CMT were well versed in the language and ideas central to the 'new cultural politics of difference' (West 1990; also see chapters 3 and 6). In the case of the member of the team responsible for the curriculum, Hilary Cox, this was rooted in her previous work:

My own background is as a TVEI curriculum co-ordinator for equal opportunities which was gender, race, disability, anything that came into that, so, and I did work with them, teachers in the county trying to ensure the kind of curriculum that they were offering was full and took account of different sort of groups of people in the world (Interview, Hilary Cox).

Through her wariness of the 'exoticism' of multiculturalism and sensitivity to stereotypes of the 'Third World', Hilary Cox indicated a strong awareness and understanding of the ideas and issues central to the school's multicultural aims. Additionally, the headteacher spoke freely of issues such as 'ethnocentrism' and offered critiques of teaching he felt was inappropriate (Interview, Andrew McGregor). Another member of the CMT, a science teacher, also commented on the problem of 'stereotyping' in geography lessons (Interview, Paul Whitbread) although perhaps

reflecting his subject origins, his understanding of the school's aims was closer to that expressed at Cardinal James School and not unrelated to this, linked it to charity based constructions of the 'Third World':

y'know there's a Meadows High School aim, we have this thing about community, our immediate, our community in school, our community in the locality, our community in the county and then a community as a wide world community, and from that perspective then y'know it's looking at the haves and have nots and y'know, people having a much greater awareness of what some people's lifestyles situations are (Interview, Paul Whitbread).

Despite the contrasts in understanding and aims within the CMT, it is nonetheless knowledgeable and well-informed with respect to its projected identity and, as indicated earlier, has identified attention to its 'monocultural' locality as a key aim of the school. But this strength would be rendered impotent were it not for the ways in which the ideas and strategies of the CMT were pursued within the school.

The CMT promoted multicultural engagements with difference, and consequently, more critical constructions of the 'Third World' through a variety of strategies. Through these, multiculturalism had high status within the curriculum and could command support and resources, including curricular space. Financial and resource allocation decisions were informed by the importance attached to compensating for



the monoculturalism of the school as is suggested in the following quotation from Jim Roberts, the head of history:

JR I think that certainly there would be a feeling in school if somebody wanted to undertake some sort of a topic involving the third world ... they would get a very positive response from the management if they were to ask perhaps for a bit of money or anything like that

MS Right. I mean, is that because the management team have a sort of specific commitment to that as an issue or is it that they..?

JR I think it's because you've got people in the management team who are very aware of the way in which the third world has been almost forgotten about traditionally in the English school's curriculum. And we've got to think [of] a kind of liberal approach which would ... encourage people to sort of look at areas which perhaps traditionally have been neglected (Interview, Jim Roberts).

That this is the basis for financial allocations is indicated by Hilary Cox who recounts how money was provided to support the multicultural work being done in music, art and drama:

You know I've just had supplementary bids in for example coz I head up capitation in the school, so the music department has put in a bid to

get Shahid [in], you know, about 250 quid or whatever it is, and we discussed that in Central Management Team and all of us said 'yes that is one that we would want to support'. So that's one example. I mean if they had not said that I would have then had to bring out other arguments to say well hang on a minute, they've done very well, really gathering steam now ... (Interview, Hilary Cox).

Hilary Cox indicates not only that multicultural activities are supported financially but that there appears to be a consensus around the importance of supporting it. That the school has a multicultural advisor post held by Jenny Patricks, the head of R.E., seems to further support this. Of course, this is not to say that money is always and readily available but that its allocation is informed by the broad educational aims of the school.

A further example of the importance attached to multiculturalism by the staff can be seen in the desire for it to be part of the public profile of the school, as revealed in Hilary Cox's comments on the music, art and drama projects in the school, as part of explaining why it should be supported financially:

It's the only area in the school that's got such a public impact on multicultural ... coz the rest of [it] seems to be behind the scenes if it's happening, and this is public high profile, it's a sort of presentation, dramatisation, whatever. Get parents in (Interview, Hilary Cox).

A second way in which multicultural initiatives are supported and encouraged is through the credit, commendation or attention staff receive for such work. Joy Freeman, an R.E. teacher, speaks of the headteacher being

agreeably surprised when he's come into some lessons and seen what's going on and to a certain extent he might rather have his own preconceived ideas of what RE is and y'know based perhaps on what he's done and as a result some of the things he's seen he's been quite surprised about (Interview, Joy Freeman).

That the headteacher is surprised at what is happening in R.E. suggests that Joy Freeman believes him to have a low opinion of it. Which of those activities impress him, he reveals in an interview:

I have a feeling that one of the areas where a more pioneering approach to this is going on is in R.E. I think that they work quite hard to get a broader international understanding and I think that does tie in very much with our kind of aims, ambitions for the development of a moral dimension, a sense of responsibility, a sense of kind of universal brotherhood, you know, universal responsibilities across the planet (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

Although explicit benefits from doing work which the head supports is not in evidence, the very act of noting and recording good work is pivotal in administering



and defining the curriculum. A further example of commendation and credit arose from the multicultural music, drama and art projects. Pete Southam and Mandy Carter (music and art teachers respectively) both received commendations by the head in a staff meeting for their work on the 'Chipko' project (Interview, Pete Southam). In addition to this public support - something Pete Southam suggested was particularly important since they were both young members of the staff - each received a letter from the head expressing the same sentiment. By way of explanation, Pete Southam commented that 'one of the head's "things" is multicultural and third world perspectives in the school' (Fieldnote 15.2.96). That the head generates this impression will inform the curriculum in that such perspectives become a 'bargaining' tool in the micro-politics of the curriculum.

Backing up the use of incentives and support to define and influence curriculum content were strong organisation and communications within the school. The formal organisation of the school and the CMT's awareness of what is being taught play an important role in articulating spaces for critical engagements with difference in the curriculum, particularly through the curricular coherence they encourage. Through a daily morning staff meeting, highly organised and well-maintained noticeboards and a regular staff newsletter, staff are kept aware of the range of activities taking place in the school. The existence of an efficient communications network also supports cross-curricula work through the channels of communication it provides between departments. It also ensures that the headteacher and CMT are able to contact people and communicate information rapidly and efficiently within the school, providing an important framework through which to promote the aims they have identified as

important. In a sense, then, the school's communications offer a form of unity for the school. Awareness of what is taking place throughout the school and regular meetings of all the staff works against the fragmentation of the school along departmental lines, ensuring inter-departmental contact and a sense of how each department fits into the school as a whole.

An important element of this is the internal inspections conducted by members of the CMT. Each member of the CMT is involved in an ongoing round of inspection and classroom observation which enables them to be aware of what is being taught where. They are then able to use this information in promoting the aims they identify as important. That is, they know what is and is not taking place and hence, are able to evaluate the degree to which their promotion of school aims succeeds and can identify areas of the curriculum that require attention. Additionally, they are able to identify teaching that they feel contradicts the school aims. For example, Paul Whitbread notes that in their multicultural approach the school has

... moved forward, but I'm conscious as well of having been into some geography lessons, on an observation basis, that the sort of stereotypical view is given (Interview, Paul Whitbread, Deputy Head).

This awareness of the relationship between the rhetoric and the reality of the communication of the 'Third World' must, to some extent, play a role in limiting the gap between the two, although it could also be argued that as much as this informs how they structure the curriculum, it could also inform their rhetoric; awareness of

problem areas may lead to it being glossed over in statements of the school's teaching. Whilst inspections offer an observation point on the curriculum, they also present a problem around the issue of authority. For whilst the CMT are able to establish a framework and incentives to promote multiculturalism in the school and to know what is taking place in the curriculum, there are limits to their influence. The combination of the authority of the CMT and Meadows School's identity explains the articulation of spaces for the communication of critical discourses of difference in the curriculum. However, it does not explain the Orientalist facets of those constructions nor the contradictions within the curriculum between multicultural constructions and starkly modernist ones such as the teaching of the Maasai in geography. Despite the strength of the CMT and the links between the school's identity and the construction of difference in the school curriculum, uncritical constructions of the 'Third World' also play a role in the Meadows School curriculum. The aim of the concluding section is to argue that these arise due to the limitations on the CMT's control of meanings in the curriculum.

### *Contradiction and curricular authority*

Cardinal James School's identity, structure and organisation did not produce a coordinated or centrally-led attempt to challenge dominant and stereotypical constructions of difference. Consequently, a coherent and primarily modernist curriculum was produced, deriving from existing practice and the orders of the National Curriculum. On the other hand, the identity, structure and organisation at Meadows School provided incentives to challenge dominant and stereotypical constructions and it is argued here that, ironically, this attempt to build a coherent and



focused curriculum produced pronounced contradictions in the communication of the 'Third World'. In order to engage with critical discourses of difference, existing conceptions must be challenged. Past ways of thinking about difference need to be contested as does the National Curriculum's restrictive narration of identity. As a result, the actuality of the challenge to existing practice, and the contests over the meanings of difference and the importance of engagement with it in the curriculum, is between teachers' existing practices, the National Curriculum and the CMT. This relationship need not be antagonistic. For example, Jim Roberts' communication of Islamic civilisations in the history department is an example of the way the multiculturalism of the school informed his interpretation of the National Curriculum, resulting in a critical construction of 'Third World' difference. That the Orders allow some teacher choice enables him, in his words, to 'subvert' the 'ethnocentrism' of the National Curriculum (Interview, Jim Roberts). In this example, there is no clash over the meaning of multiculturalism in the curriculum; Jim Roberts' understanding of the school aims, his own predilections and the National Curriculum orders inform the nature of the history curriculum. But in other contexts, the limitations of the authority of the CMT prevent the ability to control the significance, content and meaning of multiculturalism in the school.

Whilst the CMT, like headteachers, can inform the content of the school curriculum through the 'organisation and ethos' of the school, there are limits (Foster 1990:45):

In most secondary schools individual teachers and subject departments enjoy considerable autonomy to decide curriculum and pedagogy. Headteachers may influence, but they cannot control (Foster 1990:47).

Thus, at Meadows School, the encouragement of multiculturalism does not either guarantee its take up or, perhaps more importantly, define the ways it is interpreted and put into practice. Despite the framework, incentives and 'strong leadership' in the school, according to their Ofsted report (Ofsted 1995), staff felt that they were very much in control of the content of their subject's curriculum. As Joy Freeman, an R.E. teacher, puts it:

JF ... the curriculum obviously is lodged with the headmaster but I don't think there is anybody actually saying I think you ought to be doing some of this.

MS D'you think the head has any particular aims in the curriculum I mean beyond in terms of the content of the curriculum?

JF Well I wouldn't like to speak for him but ermm [unease]

[we both laugh]

MS I mean does he I mean do you think he has particular ...?

JF Well I wouldn't have said that he has basically very much influence to anything that we have done ... (Interview, Joy Freeman).

What is particularly important in this context is that R.E. is not subject to National Curriculum requirements and although subject to local guidance, it is a context where, in a sense, the headteacher could exert some influence, but does not do so. This 'freedom' is also expressed by Bob Lawton, the head of music:

I think that certainly I like to feel that we have the freedom from the staff's point of view, freedom to do what we like, regarding the curriculum so long as it's within the guidelines of the National Curriculum [orders] (Interview, Bob Lawton).

Here Bob Lawton indicates the central issue of authority regarding curriculum content: the National Curriculum requirements. Provided these are satisfied, it is perceived that the headteacher or CMT has little grounds for complaint. This is reflected in the tone of the headteacher's perspective on the staff:

I hope I'm not deluding myself when I think that the staff here by and large, have got a strong liberal, global feel (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

Whether the staff are 'liberal' or 'global' is, to a large extent, out of Andrew McGregor's control - although, like the headteacher David Benyon at Milltown High, the school studied by Foster in his exploration of multicultural and anti-racist education, McGregor could use his power in appointments to some effect in this area (Foster 1990:47). McGregor is also aware that perhaps not all staff share the goals and



ideas he identifies as central to the school's ethos. At one level, differences between the CMT and teachers over multiculturalism are produced by confusion over what Andrew McGregor means by use of the term (Interview, Pete Southam, Music teacher). But at another level, there is disagreement over the priority, meaning and value of multiculturalism which informs its role in certain areas of the curriculum. The clearest example of this can be found through examination of the differences between the CMT and the head of geography.

Despite the framework supporting multiculturalism in the school and its 'clear vision and sense of purpose' (Ofsted 1995), the CMT were concerned about some of the teaching within the geography department:

I can remember a lesson that I went into dealing with the Maasai for instance, and I had to say to the teacher at the end that I felt that the way in which the Maasai were being presented was perhaps a little condescending, a little patronising. Y'know, words like 'primitive' and 'underdeveloped' were being used as if there was an agreed kind of language about this which I personally would have to challenge I think (Interview, Andrew McGregor, Principal).

Whilst the CMT could identify a source of contradiction within the curriculum, challenging it was highly problematic. At one level, this centred on the individual teacher and their perception of multiculturalism.

Susie Baker, the head of geography, was a middle-aged teacher who was conservative in both her views of teaching methods and curricular priorities. For example, and as has been suggested, her interpretation of multiculturalism was framed within traditional paradigms rather than representing an engagement with difference. Showing a rather different understanding to that of the CMT, Susie Baker considers that teaching the Maasai fits in with compensating for the school's monocultural locality, framing it in terms of the fact that the pupils

didn't realise, some of them, you know when we did the Maasai, for example, you know they are fascinated that these people still actually live like that (Interview, Susie Baker).

Her comment that 'You had your equal opportunities and, different coloured people in the textbooks' (Interview, Susie Baker) suggests a conservative understanding of multiculturalism, reinforced by her comment, when pupils were leaving one of her lessons to rehearse,

Right, those of you who are going grass skirting ... (Fieldnote 2.3.96).

However, this comment also reflects a different level of resistance to multiculturalism centred on time taken away from geography teaching:

I'm not delivering what I need to be delivering because of all this extra material which, I think, you know, it's valuable stuff that they're doing

but where does it leave the geography department? (Interview, Susie Baker).

This tension between the subject curriculum and the broader school aims is centrally important. Gillborn's analysis of some of the micro impacts of the Education Reform Act of 1988 at New Bridge identifies a similar tension between the intensification of subject based teaching enshrined in the National Curriculum and the central management team's attempted implementation of an Integrated Teaching and Planning structure (ITP) which 'was an ambitious attempt to move away from departmental structure' (Gillborn 1994:156). The team was met, in the head's words, with 'Leave us alone, let us get on with the National Curriculum' (Gillborn 1994:158) with the eventual resolution of the difficulties being 'at the expense of beliefs and practices that had seemed a central part of the school's ethos ...' (Gillborn 1994:158). The micro-politics around the teaching of the Maasai at Meadows School also reflects an instance where

the drive to gain control of the internal aspects of school life may well be continually thwarted by the external, often uncontrollable, 'disciplines' of the market, balancing the budget, inspections, accountability and the National Curriculum (Ball and Bowe 1992:158).

The contradiction between the communication of the Maasai and the aims of the CMT and its consequences reflect an example of the way the ERA, or an element of the ERA, can have consequences for the micro politics of the school. Whilst the CMT at



Meadows School are aware of the teaching of the Maasai and are critical of it, they are unable to enforce change. At one level there are the ‘personal’ difficulties inherent in such changes, particularly in terms of questioning the expertise of a head of department to teach their own subject. In addition, such a demand might create considerable difficulties for a teacher who has taught in a particular way for most of their working life. But at another level, Ofsted support for her teaching and satisfaction of the National Curriculum requirements in a sense insulates Susie Baker’s conservatism against the ‘liberal, global’ expectations of the headteacher (Interview, Andrew McGregor).

The teaching of the Maasai, as part of the unit on Kenya, related to a number of National Curriculum ‘skills’ and ‘themes’ and played a part in fulfilling the requirement to study one of two countries, outside the United Kingdom, in ‘significantly different states of development’ (DfE 1995:11). About each, pupils are required to learn:

- a** about the physical and human features that give rise to the country’s distinctive characteristics and regional variety;
- b** about the characteristics of two regions of the country and their similarities and differences;
- c** about the ways in which the country may be judged to be more or less developed
- d** how the country is set within a global context and how it is interdependent with other countries (DfE 1995:11).

Exploring the Maasai as one of a number of groups in Kenya (the other two taught being the Kikuyu and the people of Nairobi) and identifying the differences in climate, landscape, culture and economic activities in those areas, relates to the first two requirements. Establishing the difference between their lifestyle and that of those in 'developed' countries and contrasting the different economic activities of the area also ensured that the latter two requirements were met. In addition, in learning about Maasai location (the savannah), housing, climate, cattle herding and movement, their communication also covered elements of some of the 'Thematic Studies': Weather and Climate; Ecosystems; Population; Settlement; Economic Activities; Development. Through establishing the global location of the Maasai, drawing sketch maps of Kenya and of the Maasai *kraal*, and learning keywords relevant to 'Developing Countries', its teaching contributed to a number of skills outlined in the National Curriculum. In particular, making 'maps and plans at a variety of scales', 'effective use of globes and atlases to find appropriate information' and 'use [of] an extended geographical vocabulary' (DfE 1995:11). Consequently, teaching the Maasai plays an important role in covering a lot of the ground required by the National Curriculum Orders.

Whilst satisfaction of the National Curriculum requirements offers a 'barrier' to the control of curriculum content by the CMT, there is an additional level to the contradiction between it and the teacher. Like Sue Barton and Anne Church at Cardinal James School, Susie Baker sees the starkness of the Maasai's representation - and the stark construction of undifferentiated developing and developed worlds - as an attractive pedagogy as it

bring[s] it down to a personal level so what they've actually got in their homes like televisions, dish washers, telephone, central heating as opposed to well, their mud huts [laughs] where they've got to go to the well for water. So I think that you know, they can really see the difference (Interview, Susie Baker).

Although, as she says, the 1969 textbook (Crawford 1969) that they use in teaching the Maasai, is a 'a bit out of date', the fact that it 'whet[s] their appetite' (Interview, Susie Baker), is the key. Miss Baker is using the 'spectacle of the 'other'' (Hall 1997b:223) to make the teaching interesting, ironically sharing much in common with the multicultural construction of the 'Third World' explored in the last chapter. Once again, being able to 'see' difference is prioritised. Most importantly, Susie Baker's methods were supported by the Ofsted inspector:

[Susie Baker] Mentions how at Ofsted, [the] inspector liked how [she] had [her] class in rows. [One of the other geography teachers] has them in groups. [the] Head likes [the] latter and says to her that they can interact. Susie Baker says that she doesn't want them to interact. She wants them to learn (Fieldnote 17.4.96).

The headteacher and the CMT have a weaker mandate than that afforded by satisfaction of the National Curriculum requirements and approval of the Ofsted inspectors. National authority prevails over local authority, since



even a decision about classroom layout, rows or groups, can become a question of governmental comment and debate in relation to performance indicators and output levels (Lawn 1996:151).

Because the National Curriculum requirements for geography are so broad that they can encompass teaching in rows, not groups, the authority of the CMT is weakened. Given that the Ofsted inspector has supported Susie Baker, that she sees her teaching as exciting the pupils and the school's multiculturalism already detracts from the geography curriculum, the CMT and the school's multiculturalism are in a weak position. But at the same time, the Ofsted inspection also put pressure on the CMT with respect to the inclusion of multicultural perspectives within the school:

The other thing that's probably significant for you is that when we were Ofsteded, a year OK, no, over a year ago, when the inspectors were actually in school, the deputy head, or one of the deputy heads, came flying to me one occasion saying "have you got any correspondence, documentation about your plans for developing the curriculum with third world input?", because she wanted to prove to the Ofsted inspectors that we were actually taking steps to initiate some kind of program that would raise awareness (Interview, Bob Lawton, Head of Music).

So at one level, the Ofsted inspection supported the geography department and unwittingly strengthened resistance to the authority of the CMT and its multicultural aims, whilst at another, it sought to encourage multiculturalism within the school. Whilst Ofsted are able to exert an authority over the school, due to the importance and public profile of the reports, the CMT do not have the same authority within the school to enforce their recommendations, in this case against the authority of the National Curriculum and the Ofsted sanctioned pedagogy of Susie Baker. Thus, the 'fundamental contradictions, or incompatibilities embedded in the policy ensemble of the ERA' (Ball and Bowe 1992:146) constrain the degree to which the school is able to develop its identity based upon attention to the particularities of its locality, informing the construction of discourses of 'Third World' difference that are simultaneously critical and stereotypical.

### *Conclusion*

In exploring the contexts within which curricular constructions of the 'Third World' are located this chapter has demonstrated the way that those constructions are informed by the particular configuration of school identity and organisation. The chapter has suggested that challenging dominant constructions of difference is a particularly difficult task and has highlighted the importance of educational identity and strong organisation and management in providing both an ideological and administrative framework within which such teaching can be realised. But whilst emphasising the importance of local factors in producing the 'Third World' in the curriculum, the chapter has also sought to reveal the limitations presented by external controls on curriculum content. The degree to which critical constructions of the

‘Third world’ are realised is defined by a complex interplay of local and national factors, and the degree to which they enable spaces to be defined within which dominant constructions of the ‘Third World’ can be challenged. Identification of the factors which inform the communication of the ‘Third World’, and conceptualisation of the forms this may take, enables us to move the debate forward in three ways: broadening understanding and explanation of the contradictions and contrasts in the communication of the ‘Third World’; identifying the further research that is needed to develop this understanding; exploring some of the ways in which policy can inform improvement in the communication of the ‘Third World’. It is to these three themes that we turn in the concluding chapter.



## CHAPTER 8

### **CONCLUSION: ENCOURAGING CHANGE**

Occupying a range of spaces in the curriculum and fulfilling a variety of roles, the communication of the 'Third World' both reinforces and challenges modernist conceptions of difference, informed by an interplay of local, national and global factors. This chapter draws together this analysis and considers its implications for future research and policy dedicated to improving the communication of the 'Third World' in schools. The contexts of its communication and the different imperatives and constraints acting upon teachers are identified as the key factors informing the contradictory communication of the 'Third World' and constraining its critical construction. At the same time it is suggested that the contradictions both within and between the rhetoric and reality can be viewed as reflecting changes in the ways the 'Third World' is communicated in schools. Having drawn together analysis of the communication of the 'Third World', and identified some of the key factors and possible direction in which its communication is moving in schools, the concluding part of this chapter addresses the ways policy and research can inform further improvement in its communication. Just as explanation of the communication of the 'Third World' works at different levels, policy dedicated to its improvement must also work at different levels. Whilst the National Curriculum and associated structures and

documents are crucial factors, these must be located within the broader context of improving general awareness of the 'Third World' and development, in Britain.

### *The contexts of curricular knowledge*

Contrasts in the rhetoric and reality of the communication of the 'Third World' point less to issues around staff awareness of its potential importance than to the constraints imposed on their teaching; best intentions or ideas do not fit the reality of the school curriculum. This is not to say that staff awareness is not important - Susie Baker's ideas about the Maasai are clearly problematic. But issues of awareness need to be understood as located within the wider structures of curriculum knowledge, learning expectations and teacher training, since even where staff are acutely aware of the complexities of the communication of the 'Third World', their own teaching sometimes falls short of their ideals. The contexts and structures which act as constraints suggest a more profitable path of analysis than the individual predilections and prejudices of individual teachers, focusing attention on the degree to which staff are aware of the complexity and importance of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that some of the critical rhetoric of staff is realised.

Constraints on the realisation of critical constructions of the 'Third World' in the curriculum operate at different levels. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 revealed the ways that the different roles of the 'Third World' in the curriculum were informed by different imperatives. Whilst geography's construction of the 'Third World' through development was informed by the emphasis on knowledge and order, raising money was shown to contradict educating about the 'Third World' in its construction through

charity, and the imperatives of performance and entertainment informed some of its communication through multiculturalism. So at one level, the particular demands of 'subjects' or curricular themes – in these cases, knowledge, fundraising and entertainment - constrain the critical construction of the 'Third World'. Chapter 7 explored the ways school ethos, the internal politics of the schools and the broader context of the National Curriculum and the associated structures within which they are located, may also constrain critical constructions of the 'Third World'. Underpinning these factors is that they are all a product of an emphasis, in education and elsewhere, on output.

Challenging modernist constructions of the 'Third World' is unsettling. As a result, it does not fit into an educational system which seeks to structure and measure reality around certainty, order and results (Osler 1994a:41). Staff and pupil assessment requires that particular national criteria and targets are met. Examinations require pupils to have particular knowledge. Success is measured quantitatively, with an emphasis on exam results. Schools are ranked in relation to their output: pupils passing those exams. As Vass (1995. See also Usher and Edwards, 1994:204) suggests, the National Curriculum represents an attempt to restructure reality according to a particular political agenda. The National Curriculum can be understood as a modernist curriculum in a postmodern world:

The 'National' Curriculum in the UK may appear as a monolithic attempt to deny and suppress the very heterogeneity over which it attempts to preside (Vass 1995:42).



Through both its content and its construction around discreet subjects, it seeks to structure the world according to the centre's agenda. Whilst many people are experiencing diversity, contingency and disorder, the National Curriculum seeks to structure understanding which irons out such imperfections. In such a context, critical constructions of the 'Third World' are out of place since they unsettle the very ideas the National Curriculum promotes. Knowledge is treated unproblematically and questioning ideas is seen as a skill which is to be developed once the 'basic facts' are sorted out. As Vass says, regarding descriptions of 'socio-economic orders',

The school curriculum is designed so that the ideological struggle over the narrative *basis* of these descriptions is always a secondary or deferred consideration. Our learning is constructed in such a way that any possible ideological disputes over descriptions are always deferred until we reach advanced levels of study; and by this time the basic narration is well-established ... (Vass 1995:35).

This is mirrored in the geography department at Cardinal James School as Anne Church indicates:

[I would] forget the development theme until they were older ... I would worry about birth rates, death rates but I'd look at it in a different way (Interview, Anne Church).

Instead, she would 'teach more countries, different countries' (Interview, Anne Church) and then introduce the development theme at a later point:

To introduce development at Key Stage four then would be easier coz they'd have lots of little examples to look back at it and say "oh this place is different to this one well why?" And then they could see 'development', I think, as a proper [pause - looks for words], along a proper line, from this place which obviously is very poor to Japan which looks, just got a totally different way of life and people appear to be well-off. And then there's all these along this line in between and they'd see development for what it is - a process of change ... I dunno (Interview, Anne Church).

Education is to do with answers rather questions; results rather than the processes of learning. Critical constructions of the 'Third World' not only offer the opposite of an answer, but require a pedagogy which encourages expression, discussion and critical enquiry. There is not a satisfactory, accessible and alternative model to put in the place of modernist constructions. Indeed, it could be argued that it is the attempt to use, as the basis for development, models of change based on distant countries' or regions' experiences, that has been the root of development's failure in the last fifty years. But given the pressures on curriculum time in this results based context, there is not enough space to embrace contingency, uncertainty and debate either in terms of content or in terms of the pedagogy required to explore them in the curriculum. Consequently, a model-based and out of date construction remains.

Not only do critical constructions of the 'Third World' not fit the existing frameworks, they can also play an important role in bolstering a modernist structuring of reality. As shown with respect to communicating the 'Third World' through charity and the benefit of engendering caring that this offers to teachers, its communication can also offer the illusion of an ordered and stable world divided into two undifferentiated halves. The 'self' is empowered and developed, the 'other' is disempowered and poor. By focusing on charity, action to alleviate poverty is defined consensually. That one can 'see' difference in the case of the 'Third World' affirms this reality. Thus, it is a useful tool for ordering social knowledge in the curriculum. To reject modernist constructions of difference presents a very difficult prospect for both teachers and pupils on two counts: contingency and uncertainty are not familiar frameworks through which to make sense of the world; they contradict the framework through which educating and teaching is defined.

It has been argued that the results and certainty oriented context of school based education constrains the realisation of critical explorations of the 'Third World'. This mirrors the impact of the pressure for certainty and tangible and visible results on the practice of development overseas. With development, according to Sue Barton, that 'there isn't anything necessarily firmly to grasp hold of' (Interview, Sue Barton) is a problem. But development is not necessarily a tangible and easily specifiable activity; it may be to do with social, political and economic structures as much as it is to do with physical ones. However, in a society which privileges the visual and being able to 'see' reality, this is problematic. To satisfy aid donors, for example, demonstrations



of development need to be visible. Consequently, development strategies may lean too heavily toward strategies that have as much a visible payoff as a developmental one (for example, big dams). Development becomes like a child's dot to dot drawing: link some forestry projects, irrigation schemes and a new school building and you can see development. A similar visualising and quantifying imperative operates in relation to the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum. The 'Third World' or development needs to be made accessible, certain and knowable. In both cases, certainty and results are the guiding forces.

We have seen how the tensions between reinforcing and questioning difference explored throughout the thesis are informed by a broader epistemological framework that discourages questioning and favours results. It is within this context that the tensions between educating about development and performance and fund-raising, must be located, along with the imperatives of ordering the world in terms of undifferentiated developed and developing halves. But overemphasis on the constraints and obstacles presented by the broad context risks rendering the struggles against those difficulties, invisible.

### *Contradiction and changing constructions of the 'Third World'*

That the critical rhetoric on the role of the 'Third World' is not realised not only points to its constraint. Its very existence suggests a questioning and challenging of dominant and modernist constructions of the 'Third World'. Modernist constructions are seen by some staff to be ethnocentric, patronising and failing to capture the

complex and interdependent world in which we live. Encapsulating the tensions between modernist and postmodern constructions of the 'Third World', as well as those between critical rhetoric and classroom context, Sue Barton and Anne Church (geography teachers at Cardinal James School), are critical of the central metaphor of modernist constructions of the 'Third World': development:

Well development is a concept isn't it and it's a very difficult concept? ... and it's saying OK what do we mean by developed first of all? What does it mean for us - you and I here in this classroom or here in this office to be developed? What have we got and why have we got it and other people haven't. So what have we got? We come down to living standards we come down to wages we come down to jobs we come down to clothing we come down to being able to afford holidays being able to afford materialistic possessions which seem to be important to us, as opposed to people for whom it is important to have running water and sewage, the very things that we take for granted. That's the way I tend to tackle it. Looking at us and the sorts of concepts of what we are used to and why we're used to them and yet what is meaningful to other people who are who are still at sort of a very base level in terms of education in terms of living standards in terms of energy resources in terms of literacy in terms of doctor per thousand of the population or whatever. So all of those things (Interview, Sue Barton).

As far as the teaching of development is concerned [pause] I talk about development with children as each country being able to supply it, or make sure that its people have adequate food supplies ... the basic things for life, clean water, adequate food, clean water which is free from disease, energy in whatever form for cooking or heat, dependent on where you are in the world [laughs] ... and clothing, that sort of thing. I talk about that but I, and that in order to get that you need these particular things. Like you need a certain level of agricultural development, education, industrial development and these things, but, because those things supply you with the other, you can't, you won't have enough foodstuffs and things if you're agricultural system is awful. If you haven't got the right technology or the right education that backs it up. You can't have a proper health service unless you've got the right personnel and enough money to be able to fund it, where do you get your money from? People's taxes. OK so they need jobs to do. And, it's that sort of idea, but you know I also understand that everywhere hasn't got to be like this [funny voice - as if saying 'of course I know that'], that we've got appropriate technology. Talking about people in countries being happy. Feeling safe, free from warfare. I'll talk about that as well. I suppose a bit like you therefore, it's a bit of a mix, I've got, I've got an idea of what I want to get across and how I see development. It gets very fuzzy towards the edges because you can keep bringing lots of things in: "oh and that's because of this and that's because of that oh and then there's this to take into account, then there



was this” [lively!]. So you tend to get. Because it is a very complex subject. And each country’s unique (Interview, Anne Church).

Both staff critique the concept of development itself and the problems of communicating it in the classroom. Their perspectives also convey a tension between universalism and relativism; communicating development in terms of a predictable and inevitable process and yet implying the possibility of exception to that and the plausibility of a different path. Anne Church states that she sees it is not necessary for everywhere to follow the path she outlines and that she also includes issues such as ‘feeling safe’. Sue Barton is also relativist in that she is suggesting it is important to understand the different meanings different things have for different people, demonstrating awareness of the potential ethnocentrism of development:

I still start off with wealth. I always come back to wealth and living standards. But that’s based on our ideas isn’t it? I mean you could say that, I mean you could look at development in an entirely different way and look at health and happiness, if you wanted to, because you could actually say ‘are we necessarily healthier are we necessarily happier than people who have very little?’. That it doesn’t necessarily follow that because you have very little that you’re not happy. Does materialism necessarily bring all this happiness? I mean you could turn it on its head like that (Interview, Sue Barton).

Thus, Sue Barton implies questioning of the conventional development paradigm. Despite its breadth and complexity it fails to capture diversity:

It particularly presents difficulties because there are so many different levels of development. You can talk about the poorest of the poor nations and the terrible plight of some of the people in those areas and the struggles that are going on. And they're put under the same banner as somewhere else, the same heading put in the same category as somewhere else which really is quite well off and is doing very nicely thank you. And then of course you get some, you're beginning to get countries that make the leap (Interview, Anne Church).

Similarly, Sue Barton makes the point that she

found it quite difficult to teach because it's difficult to make them realise that it isn't the whole country that is poor (Interview, Sue Barton).

These quotations point against the generalising and reductionism of using the concept of development. It is defined as a subjective construction of the 'Third World' and one which fails to capture its complexities. This awareness, despite the reality, suggests a potential for changes in the ways it is constructed in the curriculum; development's 'truths' (Escobar 1995:12) are being unsettled and reconsidered.

In addition to the explicit critiques of modernist constructions of the 'Third World' offered by staff, the presence of different constructions of the 'Third World' within and between the school's curricula can be understood as indicating change; the contradictions, incoherences and differences between discourses, as well as the contrast between rhetoric and reality, should not be understood as static, but as a product of and reflecting change in how the 'Third World' is communicated and in the epistemological frameworks within which it and other forms of curricular knowledge are located. The conceptualisation of the communication of the 'Third World' through development, charity and multiculturalism revealed how, at different points in the curricula, constructions of the 'Third World' reinforce and unsettle modernist constructions of difference. In constructing the world in terms of an undifferentiated poor/rich dichotomy where to develop is to 'catch up' with the 'West', modernist notions of 'Third World' difference were reinforced. Constructing the 'Third World' as in need of charity and the 'West' as empowered to improve people's lives through that charity further reinforces the modernist construction. On the other hand, exploring the history of Islamic civilisations in terms of their scientific discoveries and in relation to what they have offered the 'West' challenges that construction. Exploring the roots of cultural difference rather than defining it simply as 'other' and 'lesser' also unsettles the modernist framework. The tension between modern and postmodern frameworks reflected in the communication of the 'Third World' can be understood dynamically, with critical constructions of 'Third World' difference reflecting a challenge to the existing 'regime of truth' which informs the construction of the 'Third World'. Thus, the contradictions present, at one level, a process of change generated at school level and defined through staff experience, rather than being



imposed from the centre. At the same time, this process of change is fragmented and thus, the 'Third World' continues to be represented in a patronising and discriminatory way in some areas of the curriculum. The challenge for policy is to both take a lead whilst engaging with the changes taking place at school level. That is, it needs to both instigate change and take into account the changes that are being engendered from within schools.

*Policy: the National Curriculum and the Department for International Development*

The contrasts in rhetoric and reality and contradictions between constructions of the 'Third World' are interrelated. They reflect both a questioning and a persistence of universally applicable narratives through which to structure understanding, and both the difficulties of producing an alternative in the light of that critique, and the attempts by teachers to do so. The challenge for policy is to respond to this by preventing discriminatory teaching whilst also supporting teachers' own responses to such teaching and to change. To ensure the 'Third World' is not constructed in an ethnocentric and discriminatory way requires policy focused specifically on the communication of the 'Third World' as well as attention to the broader contexts within which its communication is located. This concluding section suggests that the National Curriculum and its supporting structures have a key role to play. At the same time, attention is focused on the importance of the broader issue of development awareness that is being promoted by the Department for International Development

(DfID), and the ways this may impact on the curricular communication of the 'Third World'.

The National Curriculum, Ofsted and teacher training must play a key role in addressing the communication of the 'Third World'. Whilst the 'Third World' is included in a variety of places in the curriculum for a range of purposes, it is only minimally included in the National Curriculum. There is little guidance on how it should be included in the curriculum, and, by implication, it is defined as a peripheral consideration. In order to address these omissions, the National Curriculum and its supporting structures need to both define the 'Third World' as a key component of young people's education and at the same time, ensure as much as possible that it is not included in a patronising or discriminatory way. The 'Third World', as was Orientalism, is 'a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture' (Said 1978: 12) and needs to be systematically engaged with. It needs to be addressed specifically, but not as a separate subject. Indeed, crucial to raising its profile, it must be shown that it should play a part across the curriculum, being of relevance to the sciences as much as to the humanities. As Jennifer Whelan, the principal at Cardinal James School put it:

I do think that if we ordered the curriculum very carefully it's probably difficult to find any area where you couldn't have some consideration for the third world ... (Interview, Principal, Cardinal James).

The National Curriculum and its supporting structures must take the lead in that ordering. The inclusion of the 'Third World' needs to be addressed in terms of both content and pedagogy. It must be a requirement of the National Curriculum orders that the 'Third World' is communicated more, and in more places; it must play a more significant role. Secondly, there must be attention to the pedagogy required to ensure that its construction is contemporarily relevant, addressing rather than denying complexity and diversity. Linked to both this and the subjects in which it is included, the National Curriculum needs to ensure that the communication of the 'Third World' is not confined within its stereotypical paradigms of development, charity and spectacle. So at one level, the National Curriculum and Ofsted must define a different framework within which the communication of the 'Third World' is located. In order for this to work, teachers need to receive appropriate and specific training for such changes (see also, Watson 1991; Osler 1994a:46). But linked to this, the National Curriculum must also empower teachers in order to encourage and respond to school-level challenges to discriminatory constructions of the 'Third World'. The definition of a new framework for the communication of the 'Third World' can only work in tandem with the empowerment of teachers to define and contribute to the development of both that framework and their curricula, rather than stifling such grassroots curricular initiatives (Dowgill and Lambert 1992). Creative and innovative responses to modernist constructions of the 'Third World' should not be constrained but encouraged and used to assist other teachers in responding to changing circumstances (e.g. Serf and Sinclair 1992). Such participation will strengthen the National Curriculum, making it a dynamic rather than a static document and making it



more likely to be supported by teachers (see also, Osler 1994a:41). Without such participation, teachers may

frame the new curriculum according to the ways they have learned to frame the old curriculum. They continue to teach in the way they want to teach (Roberts 1995:203).

With appropriate training and support, the government should have the confidence to allow teachers a greater degree of both influence and independence. A lack of such confidence is a failing on the part of the government, not teachers.

Specific attention to the 'Third World' in the curriculum needs to be located within action to redress wider ignorance and prejudice toward it in British society. Television, charity advertisements and other representations of the 'Third World' are all key factors in defining people's understanding of the 'Third World'. Changes in the curricular communication of the 'Third World' are not only insufficient themselves, but their potential benefits will be diminished without systematic attention to the information young people receive outside formal education. At one level, the curricular communication of the 'Third World' can reflect on these wider representations and engender a critical awareness of them as a means of taking the lead in rethinking understanding of the 'Third World'. But at another, since they are the dominant conduit of information about the 'Third World', they deserve attention in themselves. Recent changes in the contemporary politics of development, and particularly, the commitment to 'Development Awareness' on the part of the newly

formed Department for International Development (DfID), reflect an increased level of engagement with such issues and present a serious opportunity to pursue change.

The first White Paper on Development for 21 years, a cabinet position for the minister for international development and a government administration that shows sensitivity to issues such as 'Third World' debt and human rights, has raised the profile of development in Britain. As well as trying to bring the DfID more in line with the contemporary development agendas by working toward empowerment and addressing issues such as gender and civil society (Burnell 1998), the White Paper also contains a commitment to raise public awareness of development:

The Government therefore attaches great importance to increasing development awareness in Britain. Every child should be educated about development issues, so that they can understand the key global considerations which will shape their lives. And every adult should have the chance to influence the Government's policies. Getting these policies right is essential if they are to fulfil their duty to hand on a better world to their grandchildren (DfID 1997:77).

Supporting this commitment, a Development Awareness Working group has been established, chaired by the Under Secretary of State for Development. The DfID has committed itself to supporting research into development awareness and evaluation of development education work. It has also significantly increased funding for development education through both development education centres (DECs) and the

Development Education Association (DEA). The latter has potentially significant impacts. The cessation of all government funding for development education in 1979 led to charities such as Oxfam playing a more central role and hence, their fundraising agenda influencing development education. As chapter 5 suggested, such an agenda does not necessarily sit easily with education work. Restoring funding to organisations concerned specifically with development education may reduce the involvement of charities in education work and hence, reduce the problematic blurring of the education and fundraising agendas. In addition, the DfID has drawn attention to some of the problems present in contemporary representations of the 'Third World', particularly in relation to the recent Sudanese conflict - or 'famine' (Short 1998). However, the success of the increase in funding for development education is to a large degree contingent upon the development of a specific and focused definition of what development education is. Without it, and the range of groups struggling for the available funding may broaden to the point that the money made available for raising development awareness will not make a tangible impact, risking its own future and that of development education. Without a clear definition, schools will also not identify with its priorities and agendas, marginalising it from mainstream education and, hence, widespread effectiveness.

At the same time as promoting development education through the DEA and DEC's, there is also attention to promoting development awareness through the National Curriculum:



We will work to ensure that global issues are integrated into the National Curriculum and that relevant teaching materials are available.

We will examine ways of improving progress in other aspects of formal and informal education and youth work (DfID 1997:78).

At one level, there is tension between the two approaches, with the Secretary of State arguing that rather than supporting development education organisations, the National Curriculum and the Department for Education and Employment should be the focus of lobbying work (Burnell 1998). As a result, any dilution of development education or lack of precise definition risks consigning its expertise and resources to the dustbin. But, given the different levels of policy recommendation made above, this choice is perhaps artificial – the department should support both if it is serious in its commitment to a wide ranging shift in development awareness. Given the new impetus and opportunities presented by the changing politics of development in the UK, it is imperative that research is conducted that can support and aid policy developments to raise awareness.

### *Conclusion: further research*

More detailed and complex understanding of the representation of the 'Third World' in the UK will afford a clearer picture of its current representations, offering firmer grounding for policy and raising its profile as an issue of importance. Whilst there has been considerable attention to the representation of race and ethnicity in recent years, this research has shown that the communication of the 'Third World' and 'development' are also important. In terms of identity, the construction of the 'Third

World' is a potentially important factor in defining and positioning the 'self' and hence, the relations between the 'self' and 'others'. Interdependent with this, their construction plays an important role in ordering the world spatially and temporally, structuring understanding in terms of North and South - 'backwards' and advanced, for example. The communication of the 'Third World' also plays a role in defining the ways with which development is engaged, informing support for 'Third World' development from within the UK. Thus, research into the communication of the 'Third World' not only offers an insight into the ways a post-colonial Britain is making sense of itself and its relations with others, but must also point to ways in which such understandings can be improved. Reflecting the different levels at which development awareness needs to work and the ways the communication of the 'Third World' is informed by local, national and global factors, further research must both broaden and focus understanding of the representation of the 'Third World'. In particular, there is a need to explore the representation of the 'Third World' at both micro and macro levels and begin to establish the links between them. Research into the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum not only needs to be developed further, but must be located within broader understanding of the communication of the 'Third World' in other areas, such as advertising, news reporting and film.

Micro level exploration of the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum, as conducted in this research, requires development through two interlinked areas. The research demonstrated that there was considerable difference between the two schools' constructions of the 'Third World'. Chapter 7 revealed the degree to which

local factors inform these different constructions. This theme needs to be taken further, with specific attention to the relationship between local factors and the communication of the 'Third World'. In particular, it is suggested that further qualitative research must address explicitly and in detail, the interrelationship between its communication and class, ethnicity, gender and location. In particular, and building up the broader picture of the representation of the 'Third World' through micro-level research, research into the communication of the 'Third World' in a variety of multi-ethnic, class and urban settings must be conducted. Potentially important issues might include: the impact of groups of pupils who visit the 'Third World'; pupil families which are divided between the UK and the 'Third World'; the role of rich/poor dichotomies in schools which are either polarised themselves, or occupy positions toward either end of a rich/poor spectrum. Further ethnographic research is needed to deepen understanding of the inter-relationship of school location and communicating the 'Third World', given its particular significance at Meadows School. Interlinked with addressing the role of other factors, it is suggested that research is needed to explore in more detail, the different narratives through which the 'Third World' is constructed in different schools. This research has identified development, charity and multiculturalism as key filters through which the 'Third World' is communicated. In order to deepen understanding of these, research must focus more specifically on these stories and explore the ways the 'Third World' is constructed through multiculturalism, for example, in a larger number of schools. This would broaden understanding of the different impacts it has on its construction and on the ways different forms of multiculturalism, and different imperatives to take a multicultural approach, inform its communication. Such closer explorations of the communication



of the 'Third World' in the curriculum need to be located within understandings of its wider construction in UK society. In particular, the meaning afforded to the curricular construction of the 'Third World' by constructions of it in the media must be explored. Fusing policy and research recommendations, the new government's commitment to raising awareness of development must be closely scrutinised. Education must play a key role in the emerging policy, taking the lead through both research and policy in changing the ways the 'Third World' is perceived and hence, the ways the 'West' defines its relationships with it. Whilst media, publicity and pamphlets addressing development awareness risk being contextualised and given meaning within frameworks which construct the 'Third World' in discriminatory and patronising ways, addressing the communication of the 'Third World' in the curriculum provides the opportunity to question those very frameworks and hence, move out of the stifling ethnocentrism within which much understanding continues to be confined.

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